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**Shakespeare's Sovereign Beasts:
Human-Animal Relations and Political Discourse
in Early Modern Drama**

Nicole Mennell

A thesis submitted for the examination of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Sussex

2019

Declaration

I hereby declare that all the material presented in this thesis is my own work. The introductory and conclusive chapters of this thesis incorporate material submitted as part of a dissertation required for the degree of MA in Renaissance and Early Modern Studies at Queen Mary, University of London in 2013. This material has since been altered and augmented for inclusion in the present thesis. No part of this thesis has otherwise been submitted for examination at any other institution.

Signed:

Shakespeare's Sovereign Beasts: Human-Animal Relations and Political Discourse in Early Modern Drama

Thesis Summary

The burgeoning interdisciplinary field of animal studies has problematised the human-animal distinction across a variety of early modern studies. This thesis builds upon previous research through an examination of the largely unexplored connections made between figures of sovereignty and animals in early modern drama. To explicate this relationship, the study uses Jacques Derrida's hypothesis as to why the beast and the sovereign 'strangely resemble each other while seeming to be situated at [...] each other's antipodes'.¹ In order to direct the study, there is a focus on the creatures that were most highly prized by the ruling elite in the early modern period: horses, hawks and hounds. 'The Three Hs' were valued because of the central role they performed in the noble pursuits of horsemanship, hawking and hunting. As these activities represented the sovereign's power over both nature and their subjects, they were also associated with subservience, oppression and tyrannical rule. This thesis dedicates three parts to contextualising the cultural significance of each of these creatures and the paradoxical manner in which they were drawn upon, both figuratively and literally, to symbolise distinct aspects of sovereignty.

Through close textual analysis of Shakespeare's works, and with reference to the wider culture of representation, this thesis argues that the playwright interrogates the use of horses, hawks and hounds in the construction of princely power and the enforcement of sovereignty. The study also demonstrates that Shakespeare's contemporaries employed animals in a comparable manner through substantial analysis of the anonymous play *Thomas of Woodstock*, Christopher Marlowe's *2 Tamburlaine the Great*, and a case study of Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson's lost play *The Isle of Dogs*. In so doing, this thesis makes a significant contribution to Shakespeare studies and shows how animals reflected social, cultural and political concerns in the early modern period.

¹ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.17.

Shakespeare's Sovereign Beasts:

Human-Animal Relations and Political Discourse in Early Modern Drama

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Note on the Text

Unless stated otherwise, all Shakespearean quotations are from *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, edited by Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), and are included in parentheses in the main text. Following the first reference to other modern editions of early modern plays and poems, all further citations are also included in parentheses in the main text.

All Biblical quotations, unless stated otherwise, are from the Geneva text of 1587, and are included in parentheses in the main text.

Where original early modern sources are cited, original spellings and punctuation are preserved, with the exception of the long medial ‘s’ which is regularised. Unless otherwise specified, any italicised material is as found in the original. In addition, contractions are silently expanded and editorial emendations are given in square parentheses.

I

Introduction:

Shakespeare's Sovereign Beasts

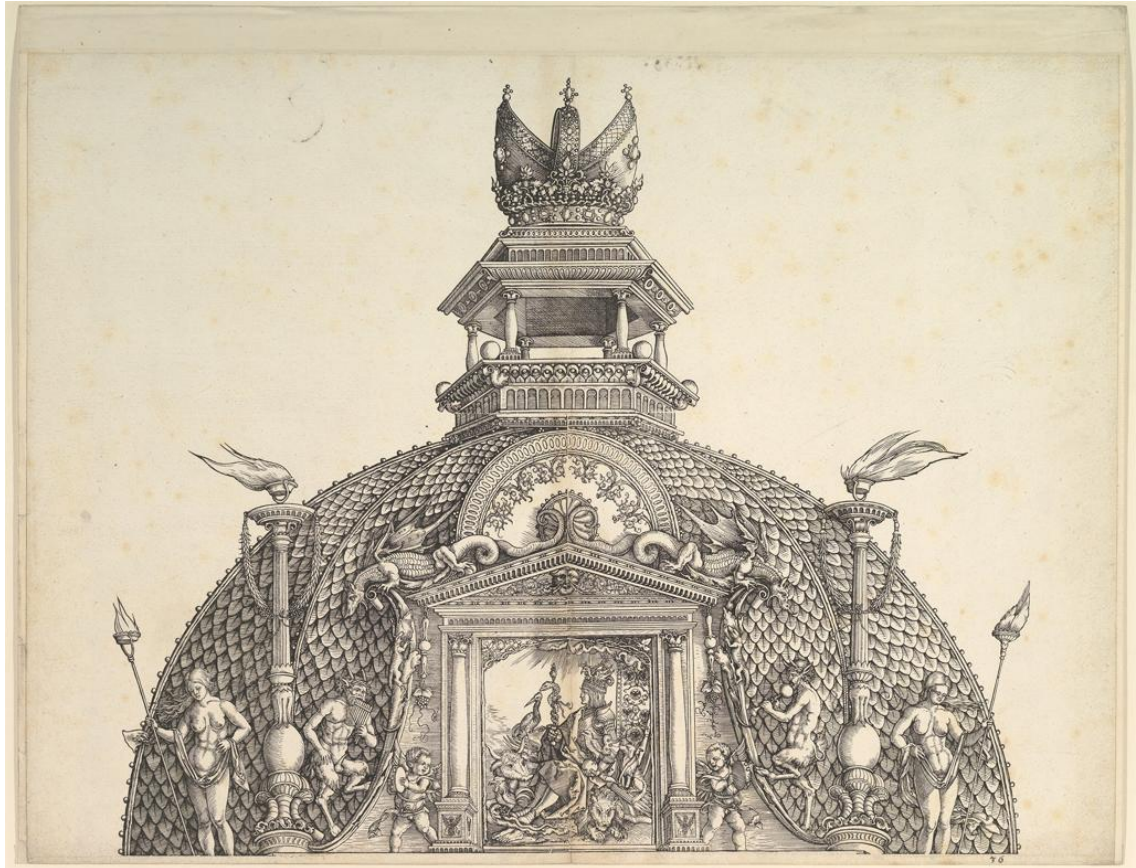


Figure 1.1: Albrecht Dürer, 'Hieroglyphic Representation of Maximilian I', part of *The Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian I*, c.1515-1519, woodcut, 45.7 x 62.2 cm, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

In 1512, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I of the Hapsburg dynasty began plans for the most extravagant of his woodcut schemes which were specifically designed to display his sovereignty. Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch* (c.1515-1519) comprises one hundred and ninety-five detailed woodcuts over thirty-six separate sheets. The central panel includes the main dome of the arch which features a portrait of Maximilian surrounded by numerous animals that symbolise his qualities as a ruler (Figure 1.1). This section of the *Triumphal Arch* was designed by Albrecht Dürer, who drew upon the animal-related Egyptian symbols detailed in Horapollo Niliacus's *Hieroglyphics* for inspiration (first published in Greek by Aldus Manutius in 1505): for example, the lion for courage, the bull for power, the crane for prudence, the dog with a

stole for justice, and the eagle for wisdom and imperial power.¹ In this portrait, Maximilian's power and authority relies upon the emblematic connotations of these animals. This reliance is paradoxical because, in the early modern period, rulers were understood as residing at the top of the social and political spectrum, while animals were positioned at the opposite end, due to the generally accepted view that they were inferior to humans. The array of creatures employed to represent the ideal virtues of a ruler in Dürer's portrait of Maximilian refutes this dichotomy by signalling the complex and intertwined relationship that exists between the beast and the sovereign.

Despite their antithetical positions in the Great Chain of Being, sovereigns used actual animals to establish their superiority in a number of ways: royal menageries showcased exotic creatures that were often given as diplomatic gifts, thus conveying their emblematic importance and value; luxury animal-skins were worn exclusively by sovereigns and their nobles to display their wealth; and the aristocratic pastimes of hunting and baiting symbolically represented the sovereign's control over life and death.² This thesis specifically examines how the creatures that were most highly prized by the ruling elite — the horse, the hawk and the hound — were literally and figuratively used in the construction and representation of princely identity, and how this reliance conversely undermines the perception of human dominion over nature. In her influential monograph, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, Erica Fudge argues that when enforcing their supremacy humans turn to animals, 'but in this turning they reveal the frailty of the supremacy which is being asserted. Paradoxically,

¹ Anthony Grafton, 'Introduction', in Horapollon Niliacus, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon*, trans. and ed. by George Boas (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.xvii-xviii. For more on the popularity of this text and its influence in early modern Europe, see Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp.37-45.

² See Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2004), pp.7-62; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.190; Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite* (New York: Berg, 2003), p.118; Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2001), p.3; Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.47.

humans need animals in order to be human.’³ The specific political corollary of this view is that the sovereign needs the beast to assert their complete supremacy over animals and humans alike.

While humans claim superiority over all other creatures through our supposedly exclusive possession of rationality, we are undeniably physically inferior to a whole host of animals. There are a multitude of creatures that are stronger and faster than us, and many more that possess far superior senses and survival instincts. We consequently turn to animals to aid us in many ways, even in the modern age, for example, as police horses, scent-detection dogs, or pest control hawks.⁴ Technological advancements have lessened human reliance on animals, but in the early modern period humans were highly dependent on animals for food, clothing and transport. The physical superiority of animals and our reliance on them for survival emphasises the vulnerable state of humankind. In *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales*, Laurie Shannon defines this condition as ‘human negative exceptionalism’, and suggests it is not the possession of reason or language that most distinguishes humans from animals but our bodily limitations.⁵ As this thesis will demonstrate, horses, hawks and hounds occupied a privileged position in early modern culture as, to use Donna Haraway’s term, ‘companion animals’ of the ruling elite because they were perceived to willingly ‘make the leap to the biosociality of [...] team members in cross-species sports.’⁶ Indeed, these three animals were primarily valued for facilitating the noble pursuits of horsemanship, hawking and hunting, none of which were necessary to the survival of their human participants, and which were restricted to the ruling elite through Forest and Game Laws

³ Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), p.4.

⁴ Graeme Paton, ‘Hawk-eyed Pest Control Arriving on Platform 5’, *The Times*, 12 September 2016 <<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hawk-eyed-pest-control-arriving-on-platform-5-f9qtp57z9>> [accessed 15 July 2018].

⁵ Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (London: Chicago University Press, 2013), p.20.

⁶ Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), pp.12, 14.

to convey their assumed superiority over all other beings.⁷ These activities were consequently a source of social tension in the early modern period. The esteem in which horses, hawks and hounds were held among royals and nobles was also criticised. For example, in *An Apology for Raymond Seybond*, Montaigne asserts: ‘The men that serve-vs, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, then wee vse vnto birdes, vnto horses, and vnto dogges. [...] [T]he vilest and basest servants, will never doe that so willingly for their Masters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beastes’.⁸ The internal hierarchies that were perceived to exist between different types of equids, raptors and canines, further enforced the role that these animals performed as signifiers of social prestige; stallions, gyrfalcons and greyhounds were highly valued, whereas jades, kites and mongrel curs were regarded with contempt. While the general reliance of humans on animals reveals their limitations and vulnerabilities, the reliance of the ruling elite on horses, hawks and hounds to signify their superior position in the social hierarchy reveals the superficial nature of their status and power.

The highly emblematic nature of the creatures depicted in Maximilian’s *Triumphal Arch* epitomises the main debates within the burgeoning field of animal studies, which are primarily concerned with how to correctly ‘read’ non-human beings.⁹ In early modern animal studies, more specifically, the central debates concern the conflict between examining ‘real’ animals and ‘symbolic’ animals. Prefacing Fudge’s study on perceptions of the human-animal boundary, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England*, is the statement that the purpose of her book is to ‘redress an imbalance in historical analysis’ by

⁷ See Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud: The History Press, 2003), especially pp.19-20, 39, 58-60, 73, 123-124; John Cummins, *The Hound and The Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988); Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp.191-198.

⁸ Michel de Montaigne, *Essays written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, trans. by John Florio (London, 1613), sig.Z2^v.

⁹ Recent edited collections on animal studies attest to the growing nature of this field. See, for example, Sarah Cockram and Andrew Wells (eds.), *Interspecies Interactions: Animals and Humans between the Middle Ages and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2017); Linda Kalof (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Hilda Kean and Phillip Howell (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Animal-Human History* (London, Routledge, 2018).

‘asserting that the animals within these texts are to be interpreted as animals and not simply as symbols of anything else’.¹⁰ In *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature*, Bruce Boehrer suggests that Fudge’s call for animals to be read as animals and not as symbols ‘neglect[s] the possibility that animals might participate “as animals” in networks of meaning that are ‘simultaneously real, social, and narrated’, and that it ‘also fails to do justice to the richness of animal being as this is represented in the textual records’.¹¹ Indeed, it is difficult to extricate the symbolic animal from the real animal as their figurative connotations are often informed by actual human-animal encounters. In turn, human views of — and responses to — animals are informed by the figurative connotations of those they encounter. This is a suggestion supported by the prevalence of proverbial sayings that draw upon the observed characteristics of animals, for example, ‘as sly as a fox’, ‘as strong as an ox’, ‘as gentle as a lamb’, ‘as free as a bird’, ‘as quiet as a mouse’. In attempting to separate the symbolic animal from the real animal we lose an important aspect of human-animal relations.

However, Boehrer’s ‘effort to identify the literal, material presence of animals in early modern writing’, alongside their metaphorical appropriations, is not entirely dissimilar from Fudge’s recommended approach to animal studies.¹² Exactly how Fudge believes animals can and should be read is explained in greater detail in her essay ‘A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals’, in which she states that a ‘symbolic animal is only a symbol (and therefore to be understood within the study of iconography, poetics) unless it is related to the real.’¹³ In this essay, Fudge outlines the three positions one may adopt when studying animals: intellectual history, humane history or holistic history.¹⁴ Intellectual history focuses on the attitudes of humans towards animals, which Fudge suggests is the case in Keith Thomas’s *Man and the*

¹⁰ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p.4.

¹¹ Bruce Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p.186.

¹² Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p.185.

¹³ Erica Fudge, ‘A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals’, in *Representing Animals*, ed. by Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp.3-18 (p.7).

¹⁴ Fudge, ‘Left-Handed Blow’, p.8.

Natural World, Nona C. Flores's *Animals in the Middle Ages* and Joyce E. Salisbury's *The Medieval World of Nature*, all of which provide important contextual information about the history of animals but which precede the emergence of animal studies as a field.¹⁵ Similarly, humane history 'looks at animals as they are depicted in documents that are always written by humans, and which therefore reveal something of the human.'¹⁶ Fudge places Hilda Kean's *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* in the category of humane history as it uses the animal rights movement to explore the significance of human protest.¹⁷ Like intellectual history, this approach examines animals in order to think about human issues and ideas. Holistic history also turns to animals to reveal more about human societies but goes further because, as Fudge states, such studies lead 'to the inevitable conclusion that the human is only ever meaningful when understood in relation to the not-human.'¹⁸ Fudge's conception of holistic history draws on Harriet Ritvo's seminal book *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* as a key example of this approach.¹⁹ In this important study, Ritvo states that animals are 'uniquely suitable subjects for a rhetoric that both celebrated human power and extended its sway, especially because they concealed this theme at the same time that they expressed it.'²⁰ While Ritvo's focus does appear to be on the human, thereby aligning her approach with humane history, she demonstrates that by using animals to represent their supremacy, humans expose their reliance on animals for meaning.²¹ It is the revelation of this reliance that Fudge suggests is the 'ethical impetus' and the 'power of the history of animals'.²²

¹⁵ Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', p.8; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), p.108; Nona C. Flores, *Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1996); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Medieval World of Nature: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1993).

¹⁶ Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', p.8.

¹⁷ Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', p.9; Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1998).

¹⁸ Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', p.10.

¹⁹ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (London: Penguin, 1990).

²⁰ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, p.6.

²¹ For further examples of this approach, see Aaron Gross and Anne Vallely (eds.), *Animals and the Human Imagination: A Companion to Animal Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Mark Payne, *The Animal Part: Human and Other Animals in the Poetic Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

²² Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', pp.10, 11.

In the introduction to their edited collection, *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism*, Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman employ Fudge's concept of holistic history to ask if we can 'ever really think *with* animals', clarifying that '[t]hinking with animals is not the same as thinking about them.'²³ They suggest that in attempting to think with animals there is an unavoidable difficulty in capturing 'the agency of another being that cannot speak to reveal the transformative effects its actions have, both literally and figuratively, upon humans'.²⁴ Daston and Mitman argue that anthropomorphism and zoomorphism — that is, the humanisation of the animal and the animalisation of the human — although seemingly at odds with the aims of animals studies, are the central means by which humans think *with*, as opposed to *about*, animals.²⁵ As Thomas argues, in the medieval and early modern periods, 'animals offered an almost inexhaustible fund of symbolic meaning', and these emblematic associations derived from encounters with actual animals.²⁶ Through analysis of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements of drama we can therefore gain a unique insight into the lives of early modern animals.²⁷ Moreover, the human-animal transformations that occur in early modern literary texts, which are implied through anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, emphasise the indistinct boundaries that are perceived to separate human from animal, as Susan Wiseman demonstrates at length in *Writing Metamorphosis in the English Renaissance: 1550-1700*.²⁸ The danger of anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, however, is that they risk reducing animals to flat metaphors which are solely concerned with humans.²⁹ To avoid this, as Daston and Mitman

²³ Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman, 'The How and Why of Thinking with Animals', in *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism*, ed. by Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp.1-14 (p.5).

²⁴ Daston and Mitman, p.5.

²⁵ Daston and Mitman, p.6.

²⁶ Thomas, p.40.

²⁷ Daston and Mitman, p.8.

²⁸ Susan Wiseman, *Writing Metamorphosis in the English Renaissance: 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), see especially pp.1-13.

²⁹ On criticisms of anthropomorphism, see Nina Varsava, 'The Problem of Anthropomorphous Animals: Toward a Posthumanist Ethics', *Society & Animals*, 22 (2014), 520-536; Kay Milton, 'Anthropomorphism or Egomorphism', in *Animals in Person: Cultural Perspectives on Human-Animal Intimacies*, ed. by John Knight (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 255-271.

stress, animals should not be regarded solely as symbols of something else but as active historical agents in their own right.³⁰

In *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, Jacques Derrida challenges the singular term ‘animal’, which aims to ‘designate every living thing that is held not to be human’, thus creating an artificial boundary between humans and non-human beings.³¹ Derrida asserts that the border between the human and the animal does not comprise ‘a unilinear and indivisible line having two edges, Man and Animal in general’, but is rather a ‘multiple and heterogeneous border’, beyond which there is ‘a heterogeneous multiplicity of the living’.³² He refers here to the variety of living beings that are grouped collectively under the term animal, which should technically include humans. Derrida proposes that we instead use the term ‘animot’ to ‘envisage the existence of “living creatures,” whose plurality cannot be assembled within the single figure of an animality that is simply opposed to humanity’.³³ While this thesis does not adopt the term animot, by examining three specific animals in detail, as opposed to animals in general, it aims to expose the border that is perceived to separate human from non-human beings as a ‘multiple and heterogeneous border’.

The more familiar term ‘animal’ is used throughout this thesis to denote non-human beings because it captures the superficial nature of the human-animal divide, but the terms ‘creature’ and ‘beast’ are also employed as they capture the dissoluble nature of the boundary that separates human from non-human. As Derrida asserts in the first seminar of *The Beast and the Sovereign* (which is examined in greater detail below), ‘the beast is not exactly the animal’, because humans can also be categorised as beastly.³⁴ He argues that phrases such as ‘brute

³⁰ Daston and Mitman, pp.12-13.

³¹ Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. by Marie-Louise Mallet, and trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), pp.23, 31.

³² Derrida, *Animal*, pp.31.

³³ Derrida, *Animal*, pp.41, 47.

³⁴ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.1.

beast’ ‘connote not only animality but a certain bestiality of the animal’, whereas calling someone a ‘beast’ accuses that person of being deprived of what is proper to humans.³⁵ Derrida states that the title of *The Beast and The Sovereign* — which lies behind the title of this thesis — ‘was designed in the first place to keep bringing us back to [...] the immense question of the living’, as ‘life pure and simple’ is ‘irreducibly *bête*’.³⁶ The title of Derrida’s seminars consequently keep alive the question of ‘what is proper to the so-called animal living being and what is proper to the so-called human living being’, while simultaneously blurring the distinctions that supposedly separate them.³⁷

In *The Accommodated Animal*, Laurie Shannon demonstrates that ‘beast’, ‘brute’ and ‘creature’ were used more commonly in the early modern period than ‘animal’, which she reveals is used only eight times in Shakespeare’s works.³⁸ In her recent monograph *Birds and Other Creatures in Renaissance Literature*, Rebecca Ann Bach builds on Shannon’s argument and favours ‘creatures’ because this term captures the early modern conception of the human-animal continuum, which did not so resolutely separate humans from non-human beings.³⁹ ‘Creature’ is particularly appropriate to the aims of Bach’s monograph as she primarily analyses the representation of birds in early modern literary texts, which are not animals in the same way that earthbound creatures are. As this thesis explores the significance of hawks, alongside horses and hounds, it uses the terms animal, beast and creature interchangeably, to denote the different beings that it discusses, both human and non-human, sovereign and beast.

Through analysis of a selection of early modern plays, and with reference to the wider culture of animal representation, this thesis endeavours to provide a holistic history of horses, hawks and hounds, which acknowledges their social, cultural and political significance in the early

³⁵ Derrida, *Beast*, pp.21, 167.

³⁶ Derrida, *Beast*, p.176.

³⁷ Derrida, *Beast*, p.176.

³⁸ Shannon, pp.6-11.

³⁹ Rebecca Ann Bach, *Birds and Other Creatures in Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare, Descartes, and Animal Studies* (London: Routledge, 2018), p.4.

modern period. It aims to better understand and represent the lived experience of these animals by reading literary sources alongside state documents; political treatises; letters; husbandry, horsemanship, hawking and hunting manuals; and visual representations of animals, particularly in early modern portraits. In so doing, this thesis endeavours to provide a more informed reading of the symbolic appropriation of these three creatures in early modern drama. As Fudge states, '[r]ecognising the centrality of the animal in our own understanding of ourselves as human forces us to reassess the place of the human.'⁴⁰ In furtherance of this argument, the present study suggests that Shakespeare capitalises on the centrality of horses, hawks and hounds in the enforcement of political power to expose the superficial nature of the ruling elite's superiority, thus destabilising the sovereignty of humans in the creaturely hierarchy.

1.1 The Beast and the Sovereign

In *The Beast and the Sovereign* (which comprises a collection of seminars that were transcribed and published posthumously in 2006), Derrida interrogates the connections between sovereignty and animality and posits several theories as to why the beast and the sovereign 'strangely resemble each other while seeming to be situated at [...] each other's antipodes.'⁴¹ Four of these theories are especially relevant to this thesis. Firstly, Derrida discusses the necessity of sovereigns to be half-man, half-beast, as is urged in Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (first published 1532) in order to command the obedience of their subjects and retain their crowns.⁴² Secondly, he suggests that the power absolute monarchs possess 'to make, but also to suspend the law [...] runs the risk of making the sovereign look like the most brutal beast who respects nothing' and who 'situates himself above the law'.⁴³ Derrida argues that because the 'sovereign and beast seem to have in common their being-outside-the-law', we see 'the face of the beast under the features of the sovereign; or conversely [...] it is as though,

⁴⁰ Fudge, 'Left-Handed Blow', p.11.

⁴¹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.17.

⁴² Derrida, *Beast*, pp.82-91.

⁴³ Derrida, *Beast*, pp.16-17.

through the maw of the untamable beast, a figure of the sovereign were to appear.’⁴⁴ The blurring between the beast and the sovereign becomes most apparent when monarchs abuse their positions of power and become tyrants by practice, or when individuals, driven by their desire for power, usurp the throne and become tyrants by force. Thirdly, Derrida considers the artificial nature of absolute sovereignty, and suggests that ‘even if sovereignty is *posited as immortal*’, it is undeniably ‘deconstructible, essentially fragile or finite’ and ‘is posited as immortal and indivisible precisely because it is mortal and divisible’.⁴⁵ Ultimately, the sovereign makes their final transformation into the beast through death, as this inevitable process reduces the ‘*who* to *what*’.⁴⁶ The mortality of sovereigns undermines the position of superiority that they hold over all other beings as, ultimately, humans and animals both meet the same fate.

Derrida’s theories, as expounded in *The Beast and the Sovereign*, facilitate an examination of the curious relationship that the beast and the sovereign have shared from antiquity until the present day. They thus provide a philosophical foundation from which to re-examine the seemingly superficial animal imagery that is used in early modern drama to explore concepts of sovereignty and tyranny. However, it is important to apply Derrida’s theories to early modern drama in conjunction with the specific historical context in which these literary works were produced, in order to present an accurate picture of human-animal relations in this period.

As several studies attest, the late medieval and early modern periods saw a significant shift in the ways animals were viewed.⁴⁷ In the introduction to the edited collection *A Cultural History*

⁴⁴ Derrida, *Beast*, p.18.

⁴⁵ Derrida, *Beast*, p.42.

⁴⁶ Derrida, *Beast*, p.137.

⁴⁷ Linda Kalof’s *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007) provides a chronological overview of human-animal relations from prehistory (5000 BC) up until the year 2000, with dedicated sections on ‘The Middle Ages, 500-1400’ and ‘The Renaissance, 1400-1600’: pp.40-71, 72-96. See also Pia Cuneo (ed.) *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014); Jeen E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi (eds.) *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Texts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Karen Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

of *Animals in the Renaissance* (which is part of a six-volume series that explores the changing roles and views of animals from antiquity up to the modern age), Boehrer argues that ‘the period from 1400 to 1600 [...] involved a steady broadening and deepening of human-animal relationships.’⁴⁸ Boehrer suggests that this change is largely due to the following reasons: the increasing commodification of animals; the discovery of exotic creatures as a result of global exploration; and the drive to understand all earthly beings through natural histories, such as Conrad Gesner’s *Historia Animalium* (1551-1587), which Edward Topsell translated into English and condensed to form *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607), *The Historie of Serpents* (1608) and *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes* (the latter was never published, with only one fifth completed by 1614).⁴⁹ Boehrer also suggests that because the Renaissance was marked by an ‘intense preoccupation with genealogically ascribed distinctions of rank’, animals that were regarded as prestigious ‘breeds’ were valued more highly than those that were not.⁵⁰ He argues that particular animals consequently ‘acquire various kinds of social significance, and in doing so serve as social signifiers for the human beings with which they are affiliated.’⁵¹ The symbolic importance of various animals led to the popularity of pet-keeping, with ‘an entire category of animals conceived as participating in a kind of honorary humanity.’⁵² Horses, hawks and hounds were securely placed in this category in the medieval and early modern periods, as this thesis will demonstrate. The rise of pet-keeping led to the development of emotional attachments between humans and animals which, in turn, changed perspectives of their reasoning capacities and ability to experience pain and suffering.⁵³ Boehrer

⁴⁸ Bruce Boehrer, ‘The Animal Renaissance’, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg, 2007), pp.1-26 (p.2).

⁴⁹ Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, pp.2-13.

⁵⁰ Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, p.13. Neil Pemberton, Julie-Marie Strange and Michael Worboys argue that the term ‘breed’ was first used in the eighteenth century in relation to selectively bred livestock and poultry, and after to describe purebred sporting and companion animals: Neil Pemberton, Julie-Marie Strange and Michael Worboys, ‘Breeding and Breed’, in *The Routledge Companion to Animal-Human History*, ed. by Hilda Kean and Philip Howell (London: Routledge, 2019), pp.393-421. For the development of breeding practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Nicholas Russell, *Like Engend’ring Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁵¹ Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, p.13.

⁵² Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, p.21. For further discussion of the emergence of pet-keeping, see Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012).

⁵³ Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, pp.22-25.

therefore argues that ‘one can also detect, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the early stirrings of an ethical identification with and sympathy for the plight of at least some other animals.’⁵⁴

It is important to consider here that while hunting was a favoured pastime of the English ruling elite, criticisms of the sport were apparent in the early modern period. In *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, Edward Berry identifies three main strands of criticism: the humanist opposition, led by More, Erasmus and Agrippa, which argued that hunting led to the bestialisation of man; the sentimental opposition, conveyed most powerfully in the writings of Montaigne, which condemned the hunt for its mistreatment of animals; and the Puritan opposition, which mainly developed during the reign of King James I in the seventeenth century, and which was concerned with the social abuses associated with the hunt, such as the destruction of property and wasted resources.⁵⁵ While criticisms of the hunt were primarily focused on social tensions, scholars such as Charles Bergman and Claus Uhlig have shown that there was a growing concern for animal rights in the late sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Correspondingly, there was an evident shift in this period towards more humane treatments of horses, hawks and hounds, as will be discussed in greater detail in each chapter. This thesis argues that concerns for animal welfare were inextricably linked with changing views of the human hierarchy in the early modern period, with people of low social status often being associated with certain animals to indicate their inferiority to those within the upper echelons of society. As Derrida suggests, in the order of human society, ‘at the summit is the sovereign (master, king, husband, father [...]), and below, subjected to his service, the slave, the beast, the woman, the child.’⁵⁷ He suggests that through the animal analogies used to describe those individuals that occupied the lowest rungs

⁵⁴ Boehrer, ‘Animal Renaissance’, p.3.

⁵⁵ Berry, pp.24-25. King James VI and I will be referred to as James I hereafter, unless his title as the King of Scotland is relevant to the discussion.

⁵⁶ Charles Bergman, ‘A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England’, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2007), pp.53-73; Claus Uhlig, “‘The Sobbing Deer’: *As You Like it*, II.i.21-66 and the Historical Context’, *Renaissance Drama*, 3 (1970), pp.98-103.

⁵⁷ Derrida, *Beast*, pp.29-30.

of the social hierarchy, kings emerge as gods and their subjects are reduced to beasts.⁵⁸

Playwrights also occupied an ambiguous social position in the early modern social hierarchy, often maligned and persecuted as vagabonds, which is arguably why, as this thesis suggests, they exploited the ‘dangerously flexible’ borders that separated human from animal to destabilise conceptions of human sovereignty.⁵⁹

In the early modern period, humans claimed supremacy over animals due to the belief that humans alone possessed a rational soul.⁶⁰ This belief stemmed from Aristotle’s *De Anima* which asserted that there were three types of souls possessed by different living beings. The vegetative soul, which plants, animals and humans possessed, was said to control unthinking actions, such as nutrition, growth and reproduction. The sensitive soul, which only animals and humans possessed, controlled perception and movement. Finally, the rational soul, unique to humans, was responsible for intellect.⁶¹ In *Man and the Natural World*, Thomas argues that ‘[t]his doctrine had been taken over by the medieval scholastics and fused with the Judaeo-Christian teaching that man was made in the image of God’; effectively, ‘[i]nstead of representing man as merely a superior animal it elevated him to a wholly different status, halfway between the beasts and the angels.’⁶² It was this anthropocentric view that justified humans’ dominion over nature:

God said, Let vs make man in our image according to our likenes, and let them rule ouer the fish of the sea, and ouer the foule of the heauen, and ouer the beastes, and ouer all the earth, and ouer euery thing that creepeth and moueth on the earth. (Genesis 1.26)

⁵⁸ Derrida, *Beast*, p.13.

⁵⁹ Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman, ‘Introduction: The Dislocation of the Human’, in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp.1-8 (p.5).

⁶⁰ Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, pp.2-17.

⁶¹ Aristotle, *Aristotle’s De Anima: Books II and III*, trans. by D. W. Hamlyn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp.14-17.

⁶² Thomas, pp.30-31.

Throughout *The Beast and the Sovereign* Derrida returns to the opening line of La Fontaine's fable of *The Wolf and the Lamb*: 'The reason of the strongest is always the best'.⁶³ This line is of particular significance due to the centrality of 'reason' as a distinguishing feature of the human. Derrida suggests that "'reason" [...] designates both and equally two things: *on the one hand*, the reason given, alleged, presumed by the stronger, whether or not he be right' and, *on the other hand*, can name the right that he has [...] to exercise his force and make it predominate'.⁶⁴ According to this figuration, the sovereign 'is he who [...] wins out over the less strong, and treads on the sovereignty or even the reason [...] of the others', thus reducing his subjects to the status of animals and raising the sovereign to that of a God.⁶⁵

As humans were perceived to share a sensitive soul with animals, there was the risk that they could degenerate into animality.⁶⁶ The sensitive soul, which Joyce E. Salisbury describes as the 'animal within', therefore had to be controlled in order to maintain the supremacy of humans.⁶⁷ The need for sovereigns to govern the sensitive soul was even greater as the supreme ruler had made them, to use James I's words, 'a little God to sit on his Throne, & rule ouer other men'.⁶⁸ Derrida suggests that through such figurations ordinary humans become 'a simple meditation, a hyphen between the sovereign and the beast, between God and cattle.'⁶⁹ Indeed, in the early modern period, sovereigns were expected to emulate the divine more so than their subjects. The importance of this emulation was emphasised by the concept of the King's Two Bodies, as described by Ernst H. Kantorowicz.⁷⁰ In Rebecca Bushnell's study on tyrants in early modern drama, she argues that '[i]nsofar as the "natural" or physical body of the monarch stood for the mystical "corporation" of the body politic, the unity of the natural and mystical bodies of a king

⁶³ Translation by Geoffrey Bennington, see Derrida, *Beast*, p.7, n.10.

⁶⁴ Derrida, *Beast*, p.208.

⁶⁵ Derrida, *Beast*, p.208.

⁶⁶ Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, p.60.

⁶⁷ Joyce. E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2011), p.7.

⁶⁸ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), sig.B2^v.

⁶⁹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.13.

⁷⁰ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

posed a danger to the state'.⁷¹ While it was acknowledged that absolute monarchs were susceptible to the same passions as ordinary humans, they could not allow the body politic to be subjected to the imperfections of the body natural. When sovereigns abused their power to indulge their affections, they not only compromised their status as humans but also their position as divinely appointed rulers, which is why the distinction drawn between tyrants and monarchs was often figured through the juxtaposition between beast and man, and in some instances between beast and divinity.

Derrida builds on Louis Marin's hypothesis, outlined in *The Portrait of the King*, that the absolute monarch's body is not divided by two, but multiplied by three: the physical and mortal body, the political body, and the semiotic sacramental body, which is captured in visual, textual and ceremonial representations of rulers.⁷² Derrida argues that there 'would be no sovereignty without this representation' or 'narrative fiction', as is captured, for example, in portraits, public progressions and theatrical displays, from which, he suggests, sovereignty 'draws all its power, all its potency'.⁷³ Derrida thus highlights the artificial or performative nature of sovereignty which Shakespeare, and his contemporaries, exploited by representing former kings and queens on stage and, in many cases, representing the deconstruction of their sovereignty and descent into animality. As Derrida argues, '[b]etween the beast and the sovereign, it's merely a question of limits, and knowing where a limit is divisible or indivisible.'⁷⁴ In the early modern period, this limit was often aligned with the boundary that was perceived to separate sovereign from tyrant.

In *The Education of a Christian Prince* (written in 1516 and published in 1532) Erasmus describes the difference between a true king and a tyrant as analogous to the difference between

⁷¹ Rebecca W. Bushnell, *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.38-39.

⁷² Derrida, *Beast*, p.295. See Louis Marin, *The Portrait of the King*, trans. by Martha M. Houle (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp.3-15.

⁷³ Derrida, *Beast*, p.289

⁷⁴ Derrida, *Beast*, p.298.

a divine being and a beast. For a good ruler, Erasmus suggests the teacher should ‘depict a sort of celestial creature’. For a tyrant, the teacher should portray ‘a terrible, loathsome beast: formed of a dragon, wolf, lion, viper, bear, and similar monsters; [...] having a hunger that is never satisfied, fattened on human entrails and intoxicated with human blood’.⁷⁵ Erasmus’s figuration of the monstrous tyrant is characteristic of humanist treatises which connected the abuse of power with the unbridled appetites of rulers. Here the majestic lion is listed alongside predatory animals more commonly associated with tyranny, most notably the wolf.⁷⁶

As the unchallenged king of beasts and England’s primary heraldic animal, it is unsurprising that Shakespeare often invoked the lion when exploring sovereignty and governance in his plays. However, as the topmost carnivorous predator, the lion was both an enduring symbol of majesty in the early modern period and an apt metaphor for tyrannical rule. Drawing on the lion’s ferocity, in chapter eighteen of *The Prince*, Machiavelli infamously suggested that a ruler should imitate the force of the lion and the cunning of the fox, ‘for the Lion cannot keep himself from snares, nor the Foxe defend himselfe against the Wolves’.⁷⁷ In his analysis of *The Prince*, Derrida suggests that ‘[w]hen action by the law [...] does not work, is weak, too weak, then *it is necessary* to behave as a beast’, particularly when faced with a formidable enemy.⁷⁸ Derrida argues that ‘the enemy [...] is always a wolf’, and to defeat such an opponent the sovereign has to ‘make oneself feared as potentially more formidable, more terrifying, more cruel, more outlaw than the wolves’.⁷⁹ In such situations, he asserts that ‘cunning does not suffice, one also needs force, and therefore extra animality’.⁸⁰ The sovereign must therefore

⁷⁵ There is not a contemporary English translation of this text. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. by Neil M. Cheshire and Michael J. Heath, and ed. by Lisa Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 [1516]), p.26. For an alternative discussion of the connections between monarchs and animals in humanist texts, see Katie Chenoweth, ‘The Beast, the Sovereign, and the Letter: Vernacular Posthumanism’, *Symploke*, 23 (2015), 41-56.

⁷⁶ In Book Eight of Plato’s *Republic* the tyrant is envisaged as one who turns ‘from man into wolf’: Plato, *The Republic*, ed. by G. R. F. Ferrari and trans. by Tom Griffith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.280.

⁷⁷ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicholas Machiavel’s Prince*, trans. by Edward Dacres (London, 1640), sig.G9^r.

⁷⁸ Derrida, *Beast*, p.85.

⁷⁹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.88.

⁸⁰ Derrida, *Beast*, p.89.

simultaneously embody the attributes of the lion, the fox and the human, and ‘behave *both* as man *and* as beast’, to maintain their power.⁸¹ Bushnell argues that Machiavelli’s hybridised prince undermined the central precepts of contemporary political treatises, which ‘oppose the king to tyrant as man against beast.’⁸² Even so, Hugh Grady argues that many plays written in the 1590s used Machiavelli’s political concepts to explore ‘the necessity of deception, immorality, and violence in politics in a world in which men are not good and he who would be good invites defeat.’⁸³ In such discourses, the lion’s regal associations temper the use of force by sovereigns, creating an uneasy balance between justified violence and savage brutality.

Machiavelli notably derived his hybridised prince from Cicero’s *De Officiis*, which states, ‘[t]here are two ways in which injustice may be done, either through force or through deceit; and deceit seems to belong to a little fox, force to a lion. Both of them seem most alien to a human being’.⁸⁴ Machiavelli reverses the original intention of Cicero’s figuration of the lion and the fox to argue that while a ruler should ‘not forsake the good; while he can’, he is ‘often forc’d, for the maintenance of his State, to do contrary to his faith, charity, humanity, and religion’.⁸⁵ Montaigne takes a similar stance to Machiavelli when discussing whether trickery should be used in warfare, concluding: ‘Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes’.⁸⁶ Although the metaphor of wearing a lion skin, which is strengthened by a patch from the fox, suggests a more superficial and temporary transformation than that advised by Machiavelli, Montaigne also acknowledges that a ruler must emulate the beast when *necessary* to defeat adversaries.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.84.

⁸² Bushnell, p.55.

⁸³ Hugh Grady, *Shakespeare, Machiavelli, and Montaigne: Power and Subjectivity from Richard II to Hamlet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 21.

⁸⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On Duties*, ed. by M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.19.

⁸⁵ Machiavelli, sig.G10^v, G10^r.

⁸⁶ Montaigne, sig.B6^r.

⁸⁷ On the Montaigne-Machiavelli connection, see Grady, *Shakespeare, Machiavelli and Montaigne*, pp.109-115.

In a comparable manner to Machiavelli and Montaigne, Shakespeare employs leonine imagery in several plays written in the 1590s to endorse legitimate monarchs emulating the force of the lion when they are required to protect themselves and their subjects from the wolves that encircle the throne.⁸⁸ For example, when facing war with France, Exeter informs Henry V, ‘Your brother kings and monarchs of the earth / Do all expect that you should rouse yourself / As did the former lions of your blood’ (*Henry V* I.ii.122-124). While Shakespeare’s more calculating rulers can be said to have fox-like natures, they are not directly referred to as such – probably because vulpines were viewed as verminous and deceitful creatures in the early modern period.⁸⁹ Shakespeare was perhaps less hesitant to invoke lions when depicting monarchs because they were said to resemble ‘in al things a Princely maiesty’, and were therefore regarded as ideal animals for rulers to emulate.⁹⁰ This view pertained to the lion’s perceived capacity to deal forcefully with opponents while showing mercy to innocents and supplicants.⁹¹ For example, Edward Topsell praises lions for their ‘clemencie in that fierce and angry nature’, and claims ‘if one prostrate himselfe vnto them as it were in petition for his life, they often spare except in extremitie of famine; and likewise they seldome destroy women or children’.⁹² Shakespeare draws on the lion’s duality to suggest that a sovereign needs to know when to be violent and when to be merciful.⁹³ Although the unjustified imitation of the lion’s

⁸⁸ For further discussion of Machiavelli and Montaigne as sources for Shakespeare, see: Hugh Grady, ‘Shakespeare’s Links to Machiavelli and Montaigne: Constructing Intellectual Modernity in Early Modern Europe’, *Comparative Literature*, 52 (2000), 119-142; William H. Hamlin, *Montaigne’s English Journey: Reading the Essays in Shakespeare’s Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); John Roe, *Shakespeare and Machiavelli* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002).

⁸⁹ Mary Fissell, ‘Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England’, *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1999), 1-29 (p.4).

⁹⁰ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), sig.Rr4^r.

⁹¹ Margaret Haist argues that in bestiaries from the late twelfth century there was an emphasis on the lion’s capacity for mercy, which mirrored changing perspectives of kingship and the importance of the just ruler in political treatises: Margaret Haist, ‘The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship’, in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp.6-10.

⁹² Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.Rr6^r.

⁹³ Alternatively, Wyndham Lewis suggests that Shakespeare’s leonine imagery is influenced by the foolish Aesopian lion: Wyndham Lewis, *The Lion and the Fox: The Role of the Hero in the Plays of Shakespeare* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1927). Audrey Yoder counters Lewis’s argument and suggests Shakespeare was influenced by the Aesopian fables that represent the lion’s ingenuity and capacity for mercy, as well as the animal’s traditional depiction as the king of beasts: Audrey Yoder, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare’s Character Portrayal* (New York: AMS, 1975), pp.9-19.

ferocious nature can lead to tyrannical rule, failing to emulate the force of the lion when necessary is equally damning.

As this brief analysis indicates, the present study could have focused on the lion, the fox and the wolf as its sovereign beasts. However, all three were highly symbolic animals with which early modern people would have had limited exposure. Foxes were presumably as stealthy in avoiding human contact and as resistant to domestication in the early modern period as they are today and, although lions and wolves inhabited the Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London, it is unlikely that ordinary people were granted regular access to the splendid array of animals housed there.⁹⁴ After all, the two viewing galleries James I had constructed for the Royal Menagerie, which was housed in the Tower of London, were intended ‘for the king and great Lords, and [...] speciall personages’.⁹⁵ Early modern perspectives of lions, foxes and wolves were therefore far removed from the actual animals they represented. Alternatively, horses, hawks and hounds were common features in the lives of people of all social strata. Not only would ordinary people have encountered horses, hawks and hounds as actual animals that they directly interacted with (although they were unlikely to own the most highly prized breeds themselves), they would also have been familiar with the literal and symbolical role each of these animals performed in enforcing the sovereignty of the ruling elite. Horses, hawks and hounds are therefore uniquely suited to exploring the hierarchical nature of early modern society, its systems of governance and central political concerns.

1.2 Shakespeare’s Political Animals

In ‘The Animal Connection’, Ritvo asserts that ‘animal-related discourse has often functioned as an extended, if unacknowledged metonymy, offering participants a concealed forum for the expression of opinions and worries imported from the human cultural arena.’⁹⁶ In the medieval

⁹⁴ Hahn, pp.93-106.

⁹⁵ John Stow and Edmund Howes, *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1615), sig.Cccc6^v.

⁹⁶ Harriet Ritvo, ‘The Animal Connection’, in *The Boundaries of Humanity: Humans, Animals, Machines*, ed. by James Sheehan and Morton Sosna (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp.68-81 (p.70).

and early modern periods, much discourse around animals was infused with political ideas. Largely based on the *Aesopica*, medieval beast fables, such as Geoffrey Chaucer's late fourteenth-century poem the *Parlement of Foules* (first printed in 1477) and William Caxton's *Historye of Reynart the Foxe* (1481), were commonly employed for satiric purposes.⁹⁷ The beast fable continued to be a popular form among early modern writers, as is demonstrated by Edmund Spenser's *Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubbard's Tale* (written c.1578-1579 and revised in 1591), Michael Drayton's *The Owle* (1604), and Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (first published 1607). Building on Carl Schmitt's discussion of the political signification of beast fables, Derrida details the different animals that are commonly politicised, such as the lion, the wolf, and the fox, and suggests that we have to 'concede that not all the animals of earth and sky are represented, do not seem to be as prone, as equally appropriate, to political figuration.'⁹⁸ He suggests that the political associations of particular animals are partly due to 'the proper nature, the form, and the psychology *supposed* [...] by fiction, anthropomorphized in advance to pertain to such animals', for example 'the supposed cunning of the fox, the tranquil strength of the lion, the voracious violence of the wolf'.⁹⁹ Overall, however, Derrida concludes that beast fables often 'put on the political and anthropological stage beasts that play a role in civil society or in the state, and often the statutory roles of subject or sovereign.'¹⁰⁰ As horses, hawks and hounds performed pivotal roles in the construction of princely identity but were not as overtly politicised as the highly symbolic lion, fox and wolf, they provided an apt vehicle by which Shakespeare and his contemporaries could covertly and creatively explore the central political concerns of the early modern period.

⁹⁷ For further discussion of beast fables as political commentary, see Annabel Patterson, *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991). For specific discussions of these texts as social satire, see Bruce Kent Cowgill, 'The "Parlement of Foules" and the Body Politic', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 315-355; Kenneth Varty, 'Reynard in England: From Caxton to Present', in *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. by Kenneth Varty (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), pp.163-175.

⁹⁸ Derrida, *Beast*, p.80. See also Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. by George Schwab, expanded edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.58-59.

⁹⁹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.80.

¹⁰⁰ Derrida, *Beast*, p.217.

Indeed, animal imagery was not only a tool through which playwrights could interrogate sovereign power, it also gave them a means through which to mask their criticisms of powerful individuals. As several studies demonstrate, early modern plays explored and reflected upon political figures, events and ideas.¹⁰¹ However, there were restraints on how openly playwrights could advise or critique members of the ruling elite on the early modern stage. For example, a proclamation issued by Elizabeth I on 16 May 1559 ordered officials to prohibit plays,

wherein matters of religion or of the gouernance of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled, or treated; neyng no meete matters to be written or treated vpon, but by men of authoritie, learning, and widsome, nor to be handled before any audience but of graue and discrete persons.’¹⁰²

While the success of the commercial theatre gave playwrights and players a greater degree of independence in comparison to other writers, their freedom of expression was nonetheless constrained by the demands of patronage and censorship. As Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall outline in the introduction to their edited collection *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, ‘theatre artists never had it so good in terms of artistic license; never before had accomplished writers enjoyed such unrestricted freedom to work apart from royal and aristocratic patronage.’¹⁰³ However, they acknowledge that playwrights and players ‘always perceived themselves as expendable, and in early modern England where this

¹⁰¹ See especially, Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Robin Headlam Wells, *Shakespeare’s Politics: A Contextual Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2009); Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004); Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Leon Harold Craig, *Of Philosophers and Kings: Political Philosophy in Shakespeare’s Macbeth and King Lear* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994); Peter Lake, *How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage: Power and Succession in the History Plays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Stephen Orgell, *The Illusions of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (London: University of California Press, 1975); Alex Schulman, *Rethinking Shakespeare’s Political Philosophy: From Lear to Leviathan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁰² E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols: 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp.263-4.

¹⁰³ Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall, ‘Introduction: Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England’, in *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.1-9 (p8). For further discussion of the commercialisation of early modern theatres, see Roslyn Lander Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare’s Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

was acutely felt patronage was a constant concern.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, in her extensive study of early modern theatrical censorship, Janet Clare demonstrates that numerous plays were suppressed by the authorities if they caused offence.¹⁰⁵ In this context, animals are not only ‘good to think [with]’, as the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss famously asserted, they are also, as this thesis will prove, good to hide behind.¹⁰⁶

In *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, Derrida argues that beast fables, through their ‘fabulization’ of the animal, are an ‘anthropomorphic taming, a moralizing subjection, a domestication. Always a discourse of man, on man, indeed on the animality of man, but for and in man.’¹⁰⁷ Except for his highly enigmatic poem *The Phoenix and Turtle* (1601), Shakespeare does not use the beast fable tradition in the same obviously anthropocentric manner as Derrida suggests. Rather, he draws on the lived experiences of actual animals throughout his works and regularly employs both anthropomorphism and zoomorphism to denote the humanisation of the animal and the animalisation of the human. Derrida himself observed that *Hamlet* ‘is an extraordinary zoology: its animal figures are innumerable, which is somewhat the case all through Shakespeare.’¹⁰⁸ The significant number of studies on Shakespeare’s animals demonstrates the breadth and multivalent applications of this ‘zoology’ throughout his *oeuvre*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Whitfield White and Westfall, p.9.

¹⁰⁵ Janet Clare, ‘Art made tongue-tied by authority’: *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. by Rodney Needham (London: Merlin Press, 1991 [1963]), p.89.

¹⁰⁷ Derrida, *Animal*, p.37.

¹⁰⁸ Derrida, *Animal*, p.48.

¹⁰⁹ More general studies of animal imagery in Shakespeare, which predate the emergence of animal studies but nonetheless provide helpful overviews of the multitude of creatures invoked throughout his works, include: Alan Dent, *World of Shakespeare: Animals & Monsters* (Reading: Opsrey, 1972); Bessie Mayou, *Natural History of Shakespeare: Being Selections of Flowers, Fruits, and Animals* (Manchester: Edwin Slater, 1877); Barry J. Webb, *Shakespeare’s Animals: A Guide to the Literal and Figurative Usage* (Sussex: Cornwallis Press, 1996); Audrey E. Yoder, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare’s Character Portrayal* (New York: AMS, 1975). These studies laid the foundations for analysis of Shakespeare’s works that can be more comfortably aligned with animal studies or the related field of ecocriticism, such as Rebecca Ann Bach’s *Birds and Other Creatures in Renaissance Literature*, Bruce Boehrer’s *Shakespeare Among the Animals*, Karen Raber’s *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture*, and Laurie Shannon’s *The Accommodated Animal*. The field has expanded to include marine creatures, see for example: Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare’s Ocean* (London: Continuum, 2009); Dan Brayton, *Shakespeare’s Ocean: An Ecocritical Exploration* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2012). More recently, scholarly attention has turned to the representation of insects in Shakespeare, see especially: Todd Andrew Borlick, ‘Shakespeare’s Insect Theater:

In the introduction to her 2004 edited collection *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, Fudge suggested that while Shakespeare studies, published at that time, had ‘thrown up some interesting analyses of animals in early modern culture’, they were ‘merely a means of further understanding the plays rather than further understanding the animals’.¹¹⁰ In her 2015 essay review of scholarly work that focuses on the representation of animals in Shakespeare (many of which will be discussed in greater detail within each chapter, alongside newer studies), Karen Raber agrees with Fudge that the ‘study of animals in literature has been until very recently a bit of an amateur sport.’¹¹¹

However, Raber suggests that work published in the last two decades demonstrates that ‘the focus on animals is a viable, recognizable sub-discipline of Shakespeare studies, with a clear lineage and common theoretical concerns.’¹¹² The present study aims to contribute to this sub-discipline by focusing exclusively on the representation of horses, hawks and hounds, and the manner in which Shakespeare drew upon the literal uses of these three animals in the construction of princely power in order to destabilise conceptions of human sovereignty.

This thesis is not the first study to consider the political associations of non-human beings in Shakespeare. For example, Ian MacInnes explores how worms were used to represent the corruption of the body politic and ‘the dangers of the political realm’ in early modern literary texts, with a specific focus on *Hamlet* and the ‘rottenness of the Danish state’.¹¹³ On the other end of the scale, Dan Brayton examines the royal associations of the largest marine mammal

Fairy Lore as Elizabethan Folk Entomology’, in *Performing Animals: History, Agency, Theatre*, ed. by Karen Raber and Monica Mattfield (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), chapter 8, ebook <https://play.google.com/store/books/details/Karen_Raber_Performing_Animals?id=_l4yDwAAQBAJ&hl=en_GB> [accessed 14 June 2018]; Robert N. Watson, ‘The Ecology of the Self in *Midsummer Night’s Dream*’, in *Ecocritical Shakespeare*, ed. by Lynne Bruckner and Dan Brayton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp.35-56.

¹¹⁰ Erica Fudge, ‘Introduction’, in *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures*, ed. by Erica Fudge (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), pp.1-17 (p.7)

¹¹¹ Karen Raber, ‘Shakespeare and Animal Studies’, *Literature Compass*, 12 (2015), 286-298 (p.286).

¹¹² Raber, ‘Shakespeare and Animal Studies’, p.287.

¹¹³ Ian MacInnes, ‘The Politic Worm: Invertebrate Life in the Early Modern English Body’, in *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Jean E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.253-273 (pp.263, 265).

through an exploration of the ‘interspecies kinship’ that was perceived to exist between sovereigns and whales; Brayton concludes that through ‘the specific behaviors of whales that foreground the animal appetites of princes, Shakespeare implies the obverse of the conventional scenario of humans slipping down the chain of being to the level of beasts’.¹¹⁴ Most notably, Joseph Campana applies Derrida’s *The Beast and The Sovereign* to his reading of bees in Shakespeare’s plays, particularly *Henry V*.¹¹⁵ Campana argues that in early modern England no other creature ‘had such power to focus the entanglements of human and non-human creatures as the bee, which occasioned not only a series of reflections on sovereignty and the commonwealth but served as a kind of sovereign creature.’¹¹⁶ This statement is true in many respects and Campana constructs a compelling argument around how Shakespeare represents the commonwealth of bees as idealised models for human governance.¹¹⁷ However, bees, along with whales and worms, were not physically used in the construction of princely power, in the same manner as horses, hawks and hounds. As this thesis will demonstrate, these three animals were not only symbols of elite identity, but were also essential and active agents in the enforcement of sovereign power.

1.3 ‘The Three Hs’: Horses, Hawks and Hounds

In the medieval and early modern periods, as Cary Wolfe asserts, ‘The Three Hs (horses, hounds and hawks) — achieved rarefied status’.¹¹⁸ These three animals occupied a privileged position in the creaturely hierarchy as companion animals of the ruling elite because they enabled the noble pursuits of horsemanship, hawking and hunting, and were of great political and symbolic significance. Highly valuable horses, such as the Spanish jennet, conveyed the majesty of their

¹¹⁴ Dan Brayton, ‘Royal Fish: Shakespeare’s Princely Wales’, in *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature*, pp.47-65 (p.61).

¹¹⁵ Joseph Campana, ‘The Bee and the Sovereign? Political Entomology and the Problem of Scale’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 41 (2013), 94-113. For further discussion of bees in Shakespeare, see William Blomstedt, ‘Shakespeare’s Bees’, *Bee World*, 92 (2015), 4-7 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0005772X.2015.1047633>> [accessed 27 March 2017]; Richard Grinnell, ‘Shakespeare’s Keeping of Bees’, *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 23 (2016), 835-854; Andrew Gurr, ‘Henry V and the Bees’ Commonwealth’, *Shakespeare Survey*, 30 (1977), 61-72.

¹¹⁶ Campana, p.97.

¹¹⁷ For a contemporary text that represents this view, see Charles Butler, *The Feminine Monarchie or a Treatise Concerning Bees, and the Due Ordering of Them* (Oxford, 1609).

¹¹⁸ Cary Wolfe, ‘Moving Forward, Kicking Back: The Animal Turn’, *Postmedieval*, 2 (2011), 1-12 (p.9).

riders and literally raised them above other humans. Moreover, the skill required to control such a strong beast and harness its might indicated the authority of the human rider, and by extension, their propensity for rulership. Equestrian-based events, such as tilts, were largely popular because they gave members of the ruling elite the opportunity to display their prowess on horseback, and thereby their ascendancy. Hawking, or falconry, as it was also commonly termed, was a popular pastime because the skill required to tame falcons and hawks demonstrated the human participants' patience and guileful capabilities. Unlike horses, birds of prey could not be tamed through force, and so falconers had to employ wily techniques to secure their loyalty and obedience. Moreover, unlike horsemanship, falconry required birds of prey to be unleashed from their restraints, thus placing humans in a secondary position as they relied on the falcon or hawk to obey their commands. The unpredictable nature of falconry forced the human participants to exercise foresight, and so was often appropriated as an analogy for political shrewdness. Like hawks and falcons, hounds were valued for their killer instincts; they thus performed a central role in the hunt as they enabled humans to track, pursue and slaughter their chosen quarry. Hounds also defended their masters against the hunted animals that could fatally injure them, such as the stag and the boar. The predatory nature of hounds was therefore often conflated with the emblematic connotations of loyalty that were associated with dogs more generally to represent the ideal qualities of the servants and counsellors that attended to early modern sovereigns. By examining the cultural representation of these three animals individually in detail, this thesis demonstrates that horses, hawks and hounds had distinct iconographical connotations and symbolic importance for sovereigns.

The differing relationships that humans shared with horses, hawks and hounds is encapsulated in a woodcut by Jost Amann, which is featured in a late-sixteenth-century illustrated German hunting manual (Figure 1.2). The three human hunters represented in this woodcut are depicted astride large horses, over which they maintain control through the clearly visible bridles and reins that harness the great strength of horses for human service. The central hunter's loyal greyhound waits dutifully by his master's side, awaiting the command to pursue and attack the

hunter's chosen prey. The greyhound's stillness is contrasted with the pair of hounds that are depicted in the foreground chasing a hare, followed closely by the third hunter galloping after them on horseback. The central hunter is shown craning his neck to watch an aerial battle taking place above between a hawk and a heron, completely out of his reach. His raised and empty fist, which is clearly encased in a falconry glove, suggests that the hawk is refusing to return to her master until she has completed her kill. While the humans represented in this woodcut appear to be in control, it reveals their reliance on the superior physical strengths and attributes of the animals they employ to facilitate their leisurely pursuits. Although horsemanship, hunting and hawking superficially suggest human sovereignty over nature, the creatures at the centre of these activities expose human weaknesses.

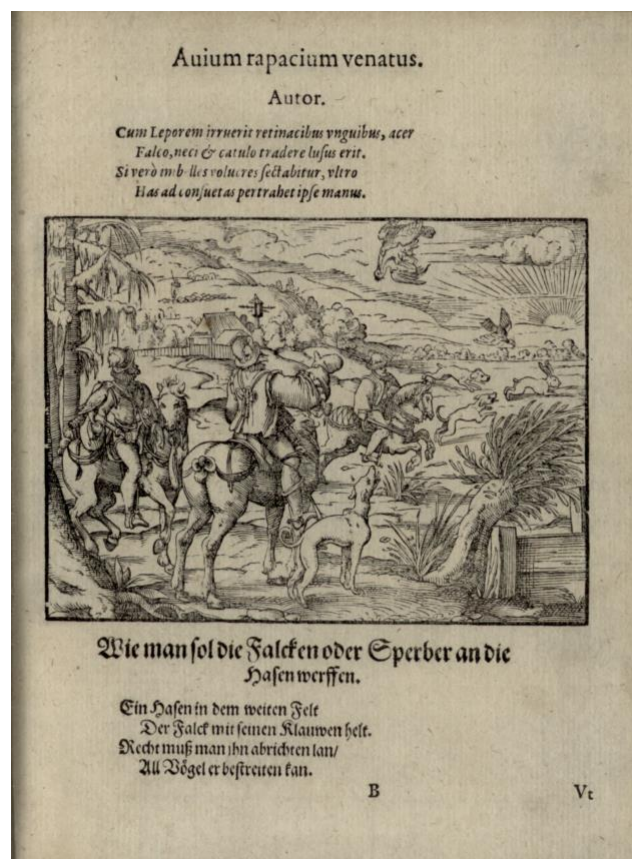


Figure 1.2: Jost Amman, 'Auium rapacium venatus', in *Künstliche, wolgerissene new Figuren von allerlai Jagt und Weidwerck* (Frankfurt, 1592), sig.B'. Image used with permission of the Bavarian State Library Image Archive, Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/Art. 1414).

Humans have derived benefit from animals throughout history; we eat them, wear their skins, use them for travel and to ease labour, experiment on them to advance our knowledge, and keep

them as domesticated companions for comfort. How and what we think about individual types of animals is principally determined by the service they perform for humans. If animals do not have a recognised use or, even worse, are perceived to cause a disadvantage to the human population, then they are readily dispatched. For example, animals that are labelled as ‘vermin’, such as foxes, badgers and rats, are killed with the justification that they impact negatively on human lives. We justify the usage of animals that are collectively grouped in ‘herds’ or ‘flocks’, such as chickens, cows and sheep, by claiming these animals are less intelligent and indifferent to their treatment.¹¹⁹ Although horses, hawks and hounds are all domesticated animals, they are distinct from livestock because they are regarded as individuals, which is usually indicated by the attribution of names to such animals. In addition, while livestock are usually represented as being blindly obedient, companion animals are perceived to willingly serve out of love for their human masters, which is particularly the case for horses, dogs and tamed birds of prey.

In the entry for ‘service’ in *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is striking that you do not find a reference to animals until entry 21. In this context, service is defined as, the ‘[a]ssistance or benefit afforded by an animal or thing (or by a person as involuntary agent), the work which an animal or thing is made to do’.¹²⁰ This definition suggests that animals have no choice when providing a service for humans, which makes them ideal vehicles for exploring the conflict between forced and willing obedience. Moreover, this definition captures the inherent paradox of referring to human servants as animals, as it suggests that such people do not have agency and are forced to work, in a manner comparable to non-human beings, or even objects.

However, horses, hawks and hounds blur these classifications because they are often seen to

¹¹⁹ In her most recent book *Quick Cattle and Dying Wishes: People and Their Animals in Early Modern England*, Erica Fudge traces the appearance of livestock in wills to show that these animals also occupied a unique position in the creaturely hierarchy, and were regarded as individuals, given names and granted agency: Erica Fudge, *Quick Cattle and Dying Wishes: People and Their Animals in Early Modern England* (London: Cornell University Press, 2018). For an alternative discussion of livestock and early modern wills, see Chloe Porter, ‘A Little Pig’s Will: Anthropomorphism, Materiality, and the False Testator in Early Seventeenth-Century Fictional Wills’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 5 (2013), 3.1-18 <<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/a-little-pigs-will-anthropomorphism-materiality-and-the-false-testator-in-early-seventeenth-century-fictional-wills/>> [accessed 23 August 2015].

¹²⁰ ‘Service, n.1, 21’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/176678>> [accessed 25 June 2018].

exercise their agency and resist their domestication by disobeying their human masters. It is fitting, therefore, that Shakespeare turns to these three animals to undermine the supposed superiority of the ruling elite.

The horse, the hawk and the hound appear repeatedly throughout Shakespeare's plays and poems, often in conjunction with one another. However, rather than reinforcing their noble associations, the playwright employs this combination of animals to challenge the Tudor proverb: 'he cannot be a gentleman who loveth not hunting and hawking'.¹²¹ For example, in *Sonnet 91*, the speaker exclaims:

Some glory in their birth, some in their skill,
Some in their wealth, some in their bodies' force,
Some in their garments, though new fangled ill,
Some in their hawks and hounds, some in their horse
And every humour has his adjunct pleasure,
Wherein it finds a joy above the rest;
But these particulars are not in my measure;
All these I better in one general best.
Thy love is better than high birth to me,
Richer than wealth, prouder than garments' cost,
Of more delight than hawks or horses be (ll.1-11).

To prove to the subject of this sonnet that their 'love is better than high birth', the speaker devalues the attributes and possession that convey gentlemanly status, which includes horses, hawks and hounds.

Shakespeare dramatises the criticism of the value and attention given to these three animals in the Induction scene of *The Taming of the Shrew*. The first Induction opens with the drunken Sly arguing with the Hostess of an Inn and a Lord returning from the hunt. When the Lord enters the stage, he declares: 'Huntsman, I charge thee, tender well my hounds', all of whom are identified by their names: 'Merriman', 'Clowder', 'Silver', 'Belman', and 'Echo' (1 Induction 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25). The care shown to the Lord's hounds is arguably mocked because the ruling elite were often criticised for showing more affection to their dogs than the humans

¹²¹ Cited in Thomas, p.145.

under their governance.¹²² However, the Lord is only concerned for the welfare of his hounds because, as he informs the huntsman, ‘Tomorrow I intend to hunt again’ (1 Induction 28). As the Lord’s status is bound up in the performance of his dogs he needs them to be at their best, hence why he disregards Merimman as a ‘cur’, while claiming Silver is worth ‘twenty pound’, and Echo ‘a dozen’ Belmans (1 Induction 16, 20, 26). The value the Lord places on his hounds is based upon the service they provide.

The superficiality of horses, hawks and hounds as social markers is demonstrated when the Lord encounters the drunken Sly and decides to deceive him into believing he is a ‘mighty lord’ (1 Induction 64). When Sly enters the stage in the second Induction, dressed in garments worthy of a gentlemen, the Lord describes to him an impressive array of horses, hawks and hounds that he suggests are available for his pleasure:

wilt thou ride? Thy horses shall be trapp’d,
Their harness studded all with gold and pearl.
Dost thou love hawking? Thou hast hawks will soar
Above the morning lark. Or wilt thou hunt?
Thy hounds shall make the welkin answer them
And fetch shrill echoes from the hollow earth. (2 Induction 45-50)

Although the humour of the Induction focuses on the humiliation of Sly, its metatheatrical nature highlights the superficial nature of the ruling elite’s supposed pre-eminence over ordinary people. Indeed, the Lord is as much an actor — in both character and reality — as the players that he employs to entertain Sly. Through the inclusion of the players in the Induction, Shakespeare exposes the performativity of the ruling elite’s status and thus challenges the very notion of their superiority — which was indicated as much by their wealth, education and clothing as by their possession of prestigious horses, hawks and hounds.

This thesis demonstrates that Shakespeare seized upon the royal associations and privileged status that ‘The Three Hs’ occupied in the early modern period to think through the central

¹²² See Thomas, p.102.

concerns of human sovereignty and governance. It shows that, while he often uses horses, hawks and hounds in conjunction with one another, Shakespeare represents them in a highly-individualised manner to explore the distinct aspects of human governance with which each animal was associated.

The first chapter of this thesis explores the ways in which horses were used in ceremonial displays of sovereignty in the early modern period to convey their superiority and strength. Through analysis of Christopher Marlowe's *2 Tamburlaine the Great*, the anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*, and Shakespeare's *Henriad*, it suggests that early modern playwrights exploited the implications of oppressive control that such equestrian images invoked, highlighting both the performative and tyrannical aspects of horsemanship to question the unbalanced power relations between sovereign and subject.

The second chapter considers the associations of falconry with coercion, cunning and freedom, and suggests that these attributes of the sport were of particular interest to Shakespeare — who included a silver falcon in his coat of arms. Although players and playwrights gained a degree of autonomy through the commercial success of the public playhouses, they still had to conceal their criticisms of the ruling elite to avoid losing patronage, facing censorship and/or being punished by the authorities; hawks and falcons therefore provided ready-made metaphors for the tactics employed by players and playwright to attack their chosen targets and maintain their liberty. In view of the constraints imposed against the freedom of players and playwrights, Shakespeare subverts the more deleterious associations of falconry with deception by employing the sport in *2 and 3 Henry VI*, *Macbeth* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, to explore both the positive and negative uses of cunning.

The final chapter considers the connections between canines and counsellors through a case study of Ben Jonson and Thomas Nashe's suppressed play *The Isle of Dogs*, to suggest that playwrights presented themselves as biting counsellors to their audience members, both

commoners and nobles alike. It restructures the contents of this lost play through examination of extant works by Nashe and Jonson that include significant dog imagery, such as Nashe's sole-authored play *Summer's Last Will and Testament* and Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour*. This social, cultural and political context is used to suggest that Shakespeare's incorporation of a dog in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and extensive use of the canine trope in *King Lear*, reflects the ambivalence he felt towards entertaining and counselling his audiences, particularly members of the ruling elite.

While this thesis focuses on three of the most sovereign creatures, it concludes with those that occupied the lower rungs of the Great Chain of Being — flies, maggots and worms — to show that Shakespeare employed animals throughout his works to undermine the ascendancy of all humans, regardless of the position they occupied in the creaturely hierarchy.

II

‘So, reign, my son’:

Horsemanship, Governance and the Spectacle of Sovereignty on the Early Modern Stage

As indicated by Richard III’s famous plea, ‘A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!’, early modern culture often drew associations between horsemanship and sovereignty (*Richard III* V.iv.7). It is therefore unsurprising that equine imagery can be found in several of Shakespeare’s plays to denote statecraft. The connections between horsemanship and governance were underpinned by the literal appropriation of horses in the construction of princely power. As Karen Raber and Teva Tucker argue, ‘kingdoms, empires – whole worlds, both material and immaterial – were built on the back of horses.’¹ Despite the devaluation of the cavalry in the seventeenth century, horses continued to perform a crucial role in military pursuits, and as such, demonstrated the strength of a country. They were also regularly exchanged as diplomatic gifts between princes, often to bolster equine bloodlines and nationalist agendas. In extension of their military roles, horses were visually central to jousting tournaments and the series of exercises known as the *manège*, in which members of the nobility demonstrated their physical strength and, by extension, their elite position in the social hierarchy. Skilled horsemanship was a vital element in the performance of sovereignty because, as Peter Edwards states, ‘astride a great horse, the rider could borrow the qualities of this animal: nobility, strength and courage.’² A sovereign’s ability to control such a strong creature with ease conveyed discipline of the passions and the willing obedience of the subjects they governed, consequently representing them as an ideal ruler and the commonwealth as a horse that needed to be controlled. However, as Kevin De Ornellas has shown, the dominance

¹ Karen Raber and Teva J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.1.

² Peter Edwards, ‘Image and Reality: Upper Class Perceptions of the Horse in Early Modern England’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.282-306 (p.296).

exercised over a horse was not always viewed in such a positive manner, as the relationship between horse and rider was often appropriated in early modern literature to symbolise the domination of the strong over the weak.³

As was outlined in the introduction to this thesis, although numerous animals tend to be physically superior to humans, it is the latter's perceived possession of intellect that has enabled us to bring all other creatures under our dominion. The harnessing of horses' strength for human use is an exemplary instance of such mastery but it is contingent on the rider's prowess and the tameness of the horse. While a rider may appear to have complete control over a horse, the latter is often seen to possess immense physical strength and consequently to pose the threat of throwing off, or overthrowing, their governor. The instability in power relations between horse and rider can be applied to the tenuous compact that exists between sovereign and subject. Like the rider, the sovereign must employ various methods to control the subjects under their command, for example by enforcing laws — which were frequently referred to as curbs, bits and bridles — and by punishing those who failed to comply. The equine trope, however, did not provide a stable image of sovereign power as it was often inverted to represent rulers who were governed by their passions as unruly horses that needed to be restrained by their own metaphoric curbs, bits and bridles. Rather than anthropomorphising the animal, the equine trope often animalised the human. The relationship between rider and horse is therefore ideally suited to exploring the conflicts between sovereign and subject, and the realities, complexities and pitfalls of human governance.

In their overview of equine imagery in Shakespeare's works, Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells state that '[r]eferences to horses and riding occur in every single one of the plays and memorably, of course in the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis*'.⁴ The pervasiveness of horse

³ Kevin De Ornellas, *The Horse in Early Modern England: Bridled, Curbed and Tamed* (Madison-Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2014).

⁴ Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, 'Shakespeare and the Horse', in "...that I wished myself a horse": *The Horse as Representative of Culture Change in Systems of Thought*, ed. by Sonja Fielitz (Heidelberg:

references in Shakespeare's plays and poems is undoubtedly due to the centrality of this animal to all levels of early modern society. As Nicolas Morgan asserts in *The Perfection of Horsemanship* (1609), 'what scrutiny can finde a Beaste more behouefull to the greatness of persons of Estate, and necessary to men of inferior condition then the Horse'.⁵ Horses not only carried nobles into battle, elegantly performed in the manège, and were a vital element of royal equestrian portraits, they also pulled carts for peasants, bore farmers to markets, and drew ploughs across fields.⁶ Due to the regular occurrence of horse imagery in Shakespeare's works, it must be acknowledged that the equine trope is not only used to explore concepts of sovereignty but has several applications in his plays and poems.⁷ However, throughout the *Henriad*, horsemanship is repeatedly associated with aspects of governance. This pattern was identified by Robert N. Watson in his influential article on horsemanship in Shakespeare's *Henriad*, in which he argues that 'the sovereign is ideally and perhaps inevitably the good horseman who masters his own unruly passions before trying to master those of the equine

Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), pp.15-29 (p.15). For a fuller account of horses in Shakespeare's works, see Anthony Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare's England* (London: J. A. Allen, 1987).

⁵ Nicholas Morgan, *The Perfection of Horsemanship* (London, 1609), sig.A2^v.

⁶ Several studies on horses have laid the foundations for the present investigation into the relationship between horsemanship and governance. Joan Thirsk and Peter Edwards have charted the economic and symbolic importance of the horse in the early modern period, demonstrating the crucial role the animal performed at all levels of society: Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading: University of Reading, 1978); Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007); Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). General histories of the horse, such as those written by Ann Hyland and Ralph H. C. Davis, have established the connection between the usage of horses in war and its symbolism of efficient statecraft: Ann Hyland, *The Medieval Warhorse: From Byzantium to the Crusades* (Stroud: Sutton, 1994); Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse, 1250-1600* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); Ann Hyland, *The War Horse in the Modern Era: Breeder to Battlefield, 1600 to 1865* (Stockton-on-Tees: Black Tent Publications, 2009); Ralph H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, c.1989). Two prominent edited collections have examined horses in a variety of contexts to highlight the centrality of this animal to people at all levels of early modern society: Karen Raber and Teva J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Peter Edwards, Karl. A. E. Enenkel and Elspeth Graham (eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁷ To give but a few examples, Bert O. States demonstrates that the horses in *Macbeth* represent the destructive nature of Macbeth's ambition: Bert O. States, 'The Horses of *Macbeth*', *The Kenyon Review*, 7 (1985), 52-66; Ian MacInnes explores horse breeding and geohumoralism in *Henry V*: Ian F. MacInnes, 'Altering a Race of Jades: Horse Breeding and Geohumoralism in Shakespeare', in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp.175-189; Joan Hartwig discusses Petruchio's taming of Kate like a horse: Joan Hartwig, 'Horses and Women in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 45(1982), 285-294.

body-politic.’⁸ Jennifer Flaherty developed Watson’s argument to suggest that Shakespeare’s horses give us a unique perspective into the kings he depicts in this collection of plays.⁹ While their analyses of the connections between kings and horses in the *Henriad* are insightful, Flaherty and Watson fail to discuss the inherent implications of tyranny that were also regularly associated with horsemanship. Moreover, they do not consider that Shakespeare questions, and to some extent mocks, the idea that, to use Flaherty’s words, ‘men become kings simply by leaping into a saddle’.¹⁰ Shakespeare distorts the idealised notion of governance that equestrian images invoke by drawing on the practicalities of horse riding; just as riders must control their horses or risk being thrown off and trampled under their hooves, monarchs must maintain control of the commonwealths they govern or risk being deposed.

Referring to the cultural utility and significance of the horse in relation to the construction of sovereign power, this chapter will argue that Shakespeare employs the interconnecting symbols of horsemanship and governance in *Richard II*, *1* and *2 Henry IV*, and *Henry V* to reflect on what constituted an ideal ruler and methods of ruling. In these plays, Shakespeare interacts with the concept that riding a great horse makes you capable of ruling a country, often exploiting the physicality of this performance of power to challenge the associations of dominance and mastery conveyed by the image of a mounted ruler. The focus on what makes a good ruler was all the more pertinent as the above-mentioned plays were written during the succession crisis, a period in which it was uncertain who would take the throne once Elizabeth I, a female monarch who was past the age of child-bearing, died.¹¹ Due to the dangers of directly engaging in speculations about who would take over the reins of state, so to speak, horse imagery was arguably used to reflect on the political tensions of the late sixteenth century. Through close

⁸ Robert N. Watson, ‘Horsemanship in Shakespeare’s Second Tetralogy’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 13 (1983), 274-300, (p.300).

⁹ Jennifer Flaherty, “‘Know us by our horses’: Equine Imagery in Shakespeare’s *Henriad*”, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp.307-325.

¹⁰ Flaherty, p.324.

¹¹ For further discussion of the succession crisis, see Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (eds.), *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

examination of the equine trope in Shakespeare's *Henriad* a pattern emerges which suggests the development of a deliberate political philosophy: a ruler should restrain ambitious subjects who threaten their rule and the safety of the country but should not use excessive force unnecessarily. Rather, a ruler should develop a mutually beneficial relationship with their subjects, in which they care for the wellbeing of their country and in return receive the willing obedience of their subjects. This political philosophy mirrors the move away from previously cruel taming methods in sixteenth century horsemanship manuals towards a more humane treatment of horses, which prioritised creating a harmonious union between horse and rider.¹²

The appropriation of the equine trope to represent tyrannical governance and harmonious relations between sovereign and subject is also found in Christopher Marlowe's *2 Tamburlaine the Great* and the anonymous manuscript play *Thomas of Woodstock*.¹³ Through their distinctive uses of the equine trope, these plays provide further context for Shakespeare's use of horse imagery, especially as they may have been key sources for the *Henriad*. To begin with, Marlowe uses equine imagery in *2 Tamburlaine* to challenge the positive associations between horsemanship and governance. The play highlights the oppressive nature of horsemanship through the spectacle of Tamburlaine's king-drawn chariot in Act Four, Scene Three of *2 Tamburlaine*, a scene which exemplifies the conqueror's tyrannical rule. Shakespeare was evidently aware of this scene, as he parodies Tamburlaine's 'Pampered Jades of Asia' speech, which is delivered as the conqueror enters on his chariot, through Pistol's distorted version of it in Act Two, Scene Seven of *2 Henry IV* (*2 Henry IV* II.iv.161-167).¹⁴ Pistol's parody of Tamburlaine's speech may acknowledge the impact Marlowe's striking use of the equine trope

¹² Karen Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp.86-87.

¹³ The manuscript of this play survives in a collection of fifteen early modern plays: London, British Library, MS Egerton 1994, fols.161-185^v. All references to this play are from the most recent scholarly edition: Anon., *Thomas of Woodstock or, Richard the Second, Part One*, ed. by Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

¹⁴ In his discussion of Marlowe's influence on Shakespeare's plays, Robert Logan asserts that Shakespeare parodies well-known lines from Marlowe's plays to associate himself with a successful playwright and highlight his individualism as a wordsmith: Robert A. Logan, *Shakespeare's Marlowe: The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Artistry* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.144.

had on Shakespeare's conception of oppressive governance.¹⁵ In comparison, an actual horse was likely used in *Woodstock* to convey the burdens of governance and the justifications of usurping the throne of an inadequate ruler. It has been suggested by several editors of *Richard II* that this anonymous play, which depicts events from the beginning of Richard II's reign with a focus on the tragedy of his uncle Thomas of Woodstock, was a source for Shakespeare's play.¹⁶ In direct contrast to Tamburlaine's oppressive use of horsemanship, Woodstock laments the mistreatment of an apparently famished horse to suggest rulers should care for their subjects, as grooms do for horses, rather than exploiting them for their own pleasure. 2 *Tamburlaine* and *Woodstock* therefore demonstrate that Shakespeare's employment of the equine trope was part of a wider tradition whereby horses and horsemanship were used to convey and subvert conceptions of good governance.

In this chapter, I first outline the relationship between horsemanship and sovereign power in the early modern period. Next, I consider non-Shakespeare depictions of horsemanship in Marlowe's 2 *Tamburlaine* and the anonymous *Woodstock*. Following this, I track the signification of horses in *Richard II*, 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*. In so doing, the present chapter demonstrates the connection between Shakespeare's equine imagery and methods of governance, and argues that the horse is a shifting signifier for the exercise and legitimacy of princely power.

2.1 Horses, Horsemanship and Governance

The connections between horsemanship and governance in early modern culture are rooted in the historical use of, and reliance on, horses by the ruling elite. Astride a horse, royals and nobles embody the attributes of majesty, which Derrida defines as 'grandeur, highness, [and]

¹⁵ For an alternative reading of these lines as 'ridiculing Tamburlaine', see Maurice Charney, 'The Voice of Marlowe's Tamburlaine in Early Shakespeare', *Comparative Drama*, 31 (1997), 213-223 (p.219).

¹⁶ William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. by Charles Forker The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London: Thomson Learning, 2002), p.144; William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.10; William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. by Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.45.

dignity’¹⁷ When on horseback, sovereigns are physically raised above their subjects, thus conveying their ascendancy and ability to rule. In Patricia Franz’s thesis on the role of horsemanship in the self-fashioning of early modern elite identities, she usefully identifies the three central symbols of horsemanship that were used by nobles to convey their power and social superiority: dominance is suggested by the coercion of the horse; discipline is conveyed through the bridling of the horse, which symbolises restraint and control of the passions through reason, as well as its opposite, unrestrained passions; and the horse as a servant of humans is used as an analogy for various examples of human subordination.¹⁸ Peter Hammond Schwartz suggests that the association between the mastery of a horse and governance was inextricably linked to the military use of horses by nobles throughout history, particularly due to the ‘distinction between those who fought on horseback and those who served in wars as conscripted foot soldiers’.¹⁹ Consequently, horsemanship was justified as a sport for the upper classes as vital preparation for war. Peter Edwards and Elspeth Graham argue that the usage of horses in war had hierarchical implications as ‘enrolment in the army in wartime, especially in heavy cavalry units, had enabled the aristocracy to justify their right to exercise authority over the population as a whole.’²⁰ However, as Derrida warns, in such highness is the risk of ‘falling off [...] back toward the low’, a reality of governing that Shakespeare dramatises throughout the *Henriad*.²¹

It is important to note that while there is no question that Elizabeth I was an able rider, there are no known authorised equestrian portraits of her during her lifetime. For example, the well-known *Procession Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I* (c.1600-1603), depicts the Queen being carried

¹⁷ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.214.

¹⁸ Patricia M. Franz, ‘The Horseman as a Work of Art: The Construction of Elite Identities in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1700’ (unpublished thesis, The City University of New York, 2006), pp.4-5.

¹⁹ Peter Hammond Schwartz, ‘Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought: Toward an Understanding of Symbols as Political Texts’, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 41 (1988), 653-673 (p.657).

²⁰ Peter Edwards and Elspeth Graham, ‘Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp.1-33 (p.7).

²¹ Derrida, *Beast*, p.256.

in a litter by her nobles, rather than on the back of a horse.²² This absence of equestrian images is arguably because an image of Elizabeth I astride a great steed would have conflicted with her status as the Virgin Queen due to the sexually charged nature of horse riding.²³ Notably, Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in Paris, wrote to Francis Walsingham on 17 November 1583 to inform him that a subversive cartoon of the Queen had been displayed around the city:

a fowle picture of the Q. Majesties sett upp she beinge on horseback her left hande holding the brydell of the horse, with her right hande pullynge upp her clothes shewigne her hindpare Sir reverence. Uppon her hed written *la Reine d'Angleterre* verses under neethe signifynge that yf anye Inglish man that passed by were asked he kowlde tell what and whose the picture was.²⁴

This image subverts the traditional iconography of royal equestrian portraits by exposing the sanctified parts of the Queen's body. Stafford also states in this letter that under the image of the mounted and exposed Queen 'was a picture of *Monsieurs* verie well-drawn in his best apparel havynge upon his fiste a hawke which continually bayted and kowlde never make her sytt styll'. This refers to Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, the youngest son of Henri II of France and Catherine de Medici, whose marriage negotiations with Elizabeth finally collapsed in February 1582. Louis Montrose suggests that 'Sir reverence', 'is an Elizabethan euphemism for defecation'; this cartoon therefore suggests that Elizabeth had defecated on Anjou by rejecting his proposal.²⁵ It also indicates that Anjou had failed to control the English Queen, who is represented by the disobedient hawk on his fist that is attempting to escape its restraints. While the cartoon is subversive, by depicting the Queen astride a horse, it suggests that she maintained complete control in her negotiations with the French Prince. In addition, by drawing on the usual gendered relations between falconers and their falcons to represent the unstable

²² Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *The Procession Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, c.1600-1603, oil on canvas, 132.7 x 190.5 cm, John Wingfield Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorset.

²³ Karen Raber has shown that several early modern writers 'consider sex and horsemanship analogous activities': Raber, *Animal Bodies*, p.80.

²⁴ 'Edward Stafford to Thomas Walsingham, 17 November 1583', Kew, National Archives, SP 78/10/79; cited in Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.137. For further discussion of this image, see Montrose, pp.137-138.

²⁵ Montrose, p.137.

power dynamics between husband and wife, (famously dramatised in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, as will be discussed in the next chapter), it suggests that the Queen refuses to be tamed like a hawk and seeks to fly above her young suitor. As Montrose suggests, this image is 'an obscene twist upon the ubiquitous satirical *topos* of the woman-on-top.'²⁶

While there may not be any contemporary depictions of Elizabeth on horseback, she used horsemanship — like her male counterparts — to convey her sovereignty. An engraving of Elizabeth I by Thomas Cecil, dated to approximately 1625, refers to perhaps the most iconic account of the Queen on horseback as she addressed the troops at Tilbury that were assembled in preparation for an invasion by the Spanish Armada on 9th August 1588 (Figure 2.1).²⁷ Cecil's engraving represents Elizabeth as Saint George trampling a seven-headed hydra under her horse's hooves, while a figure portraying Truth hands the Queen a lance. Clearly visible in the background of the engraving is the army at Tilbury and the Spanish Armada, notably arranged in the shape of a horseshoe. Elizabeth undoubtedly delivered her famous Tilbury speech on horseback to emphasise her point that, while she was perceived to have the 'bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman', she had 'the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too'.²⁸ The Queen's command of a great horse as she delivered this speech would have enabled Elizabeth to project an image of masculine princely power. While this iconic moment may not have been commemorated by an equestrian portrait of the Queen during her lifetime, the gray horse she rode at Tilbury was possibly celebrated through a portrait of its own, which is still on

²⁶ Montrose, p.138.

²⁷ Roy Strong suggests that Cecil's engraving may be based on an earlier portrait but there is no evidence to support this argument: Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p.156.

²⁸ Although the actual words of Elizabeth's speech are disputed, the generally accepted version is from a letter by Leonel Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham that was written before 1631 and published in Anon., *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra. Mysteries of State and Government* (London, 1654), sig.L12^v. For further discussion of Elizabeth's Tilbury speech, see R. Leicester and Miller Christy, 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury in 1588', *The English Historical Review*, 43 (1919), 43-61; Susan Frye, 'The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992), 95-114; Janet M. Green, "'I My Self': Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 421-445.

display at Hatfield House, thus emphasising the pivotal role that this majestic animal played in enforcing the Queen's sovereignty.²⁹



Figure 2.1: Thomas Cecil, *Elizabetha Angliae et Hiberniae Reginae &c.*, c.1625-1640, engraving, 27.2 x 29.6 cm, The British Museum, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

The absence of equestrian portraits or statues of Elizabeth is also characteristic of medieval and early modern English royal culture. Indeed, there are also no known full-size authorised equestrian portraits of any English monarchs until Robert Peake the Elder's portrait of Prince Henry in 1610.³⁰ Nevertheless, equestrian images were a traditional feature in the Great Seals of English monarchs, which were attached to all important documents and represented the monarch's official public image, drawing upon the deeply entrenched symbolism that equated horsemanship with mastery over the realm.³¹ James I recognised the importance of appearing

²⁹ Unknown, *A Large Grey Horse*, 1594, oil on canvas, 244 x 267 cm, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

³⁰ Robert Peake the Elder, *Prince Henry on Horseback*, c.1606-08, oil on canvas, 228.6 x 218.4 cm, Parham House, Pulborough, West Sussex. For further discussion of this portrait, see Catherine MacLeod, 'Prince Henry on Horseback,' in *The Lost Prince: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart*, ed. by Catherine MacLeod (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012), pp.94-95 (p.94).

³¹ Alfred Benjamin Wyon, *The Great Seals of England from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London: Elliot Stock, 1887), p.76-79. See plates XXII and XXIII (pp.112, 114) for Elizabeth I, and plates XXIV and XXV (pp.116, 118) for James I.

astride a noble mount to convey his might and majesty; during his first royal progress through London in March 1604, he entered the city ‘richly mounted on a white Iennet’.³² Peter Edwards notes that due to the large size and ‘imposing stature’ of jennets, which were a valuable Spanish breed of horse, nobles could ‘demonstrate the link between horsemanship and qualities of leadership’.³³

The interlocking symbols of horsemanship, military prowess and statecraft are encapsulated in an emblem in Geoffrey Whitney’s *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), which represents a mounted soldier with the accompanying epigram:

The tramping steede, that champes the burnish’d bitte,
Is mannag’d brave, with ryders for the nones:
But, when the foole uppon his backe doth sette,
He throwes him downe, and ofte doth bruse his bones:
His corage feirce, dothe crave a better guide,
And eke such horse, the foole shoulde not bestride.

By which is ment, that men of judgement grave,
Of learning, witte, and eeke of conscience cleare,
In highe estate, are fitte theire seates to have,
And to be stall’d, in sacred justice cheare:
Wherein they rule, unto theire endlesse fame,
But fooles are foil’d, and throwne out of the same.³⁴

In Whitney’s emblem, the horse represents the body politic that must be governed by not only a capable ruler, but one who is just, learned and has a clear conscience. A rider who cannot govern the horse in the correct manner will be justifiably thrown from its back. This image therefore reverses the usual connotations of mastery conveyed by equestrian portraits, as the horse is seen to have an equal level of power to the human rider.

³² Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment Giuen to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, Vpon the Day of his Maiesties Tryumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the 15. of March. 1603* (London, 1604), sig.B4^r. I am grateful to Tracey Hill for this reference.

³³ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), p.239. Dent suggests that the Spanish jennet was considered the perfect horse in the early modern period and was ridden by ‘the rich and powerful when they were out to impress’: Dent, p.75.

³⁴ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), sig.E3^v.

The reference to a ‘conscience cleare’ in Whitney’s emblem implies that to effectively govern a country, a ruler must also be in control of their passions. Notably, in Arthur Golding’s *Epistle* to his translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1567) the struggle to control the desires of the sensitive soul is conveyed through the metaphor of a horse taking control of the reins. Golding argues that unless ‘the feerce affections’ are controlled ‘they taking bridle in the teeth lyke wilfull jades doo prounce / Away, and headlong carie him to every filthy pit / Of vyce, and drinking of the same defyle his soule with it’.³⁵ Golding’s *Epistle* draws on Plato’s tripartite theory of the soul and the allegory of the charioteer driving his team of horses. In Plato’s *Phaedrus*, Socrates states, ‘although our inner ruler drives a pair of horses, only one of his horses is thoroughly noble and good, while the other one is thoroughly the opposite’.³⁶ It is considered that the charioteer who has not sufficiently trained the ignoble horse ‘finds that it pulls him down towards the earth and holds him back, and this is the point at which a soul faces the worst suffering and the hardest struggle’.³⁷ Plato’s pagan figuration finds its Christian counterpart in the Bible: ‘If any man sinne not in word, he is a perfect man, and able to bridle all the body. Beholde, we put bittes into the horses mouthes, that they should obey vs, and we turne about all their bodie’ (James 3.2-3). Through such imagery, the bridle and the bit come to symbolise mastery over the sensitive soul, or the ‘animal within’.

The ability to control a horse was viewed as reliant on the ability to govern the passions in early modern horsemanship manuals. For example, Michael Barret states in his 1618 manual, ‘let them not thinke evere to learne to governe a Horse well and truly, that cannot tell how to governe themselves’.³⁸ James I makes a comparable connection between mastery of the passions and the ability to rule a country in *Basilikon Doron* (1599) when he informs Prince Henry, ‘Hee can not bee thought worthie to rule & command others, that cannot rule and

³⁵ Ovid, *Shakespeare's Ovid: Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses*, trans. By Arthur Golding, ed. by W.H.D. Rouse (London: At the De Le Mare Press, 1904 [1567]), *Epistle* l.572-578.

³⁶ Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 246a.

³⁷ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247b.

³⁸ Michael Baret, *An Hipponomie or the Vineyard of Horsemanship* (London, 1618), sig.C6^v-C7^r.

dantone his owne proper affections & vnreasonable appetites'.³⁹ To 'dantone' means to 'subdue, tame, intimidate', and was specifically applied to the breaking-in of horses.⁴⁰ James uses remarkably similar language in this text when encouraging his son to partake in equestrian sports: 'the honorablest and most commendable games that yee can vse, are on Horse-backe; for it becommeth a Prince beste of any man to bee a faire and good horse-man. Vse therefore to ride and daunt on greate and coragious horses'.⁴¹ James I acknowledges here that the spectacle of a mounted ruler on a 'great and courageous horse', visually represents their ability to tame the desires of the sensitive soul and therefore their ability to govern. The symbolic spectacle of the mounted ruler, however, was perhaps more important to James than being an effective ruler. Writing to Cecil concerning his potential ascension to the English throne in the Spring of 1602 and his experience of ruling over Scotland, James represented England and Scotland as two very different types of horses: 'it is a farre more barbarouse and stiffe nekkit people that I rule ouer. Saint george surelie rides upon a touardlie rydding horse, quhaire I ame daylie burstin in daunting a wylde, unreulie coalte'.⁴² Through this equine metaphor, James suggested that ruling over England would be a much easier and preferable task than governing over the intractable Scotland.

There is a clear sense of hierarchy and inequality in the analogy of the commonwealth as horse and monarch as rider. Take for example Thomas Elyot's well-known description of good horsemanship as a symbol of power and authority in *The Boke Named the Gouverner* (1531):

the most honorable exercise [...] that besemeth the astate of euery noble persone, is to ryde suerly and clene on a great horse and a roughe [...] whiche undoubtedly nat onely importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour persones, beholding him aboute the co[m]mon course of other men, dauntynge a fierce and cruell beaste but also is no litle socour as well in pursuete of enemies &

³⁹ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), sig.B2^r.

⁴⁰ 'daunt on | danton, v.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), online edn <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47468>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

⁴¹ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron*, sig.T4^v.

⁴² Hertfordshire, Hatfield House, Hatfield MSS, 135, fol.76. Cited in *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by John Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1861), p.31.

co[n]foundyng them as in escapyng imminent daunger wha[n] wisdom therto
exhorteth.⁴³

Elyot explicitly states that, in addition to giving humans a military advantage against their enemies, the ability to tame such a strong animal sets the ruling elite above their subjects. The hierarchical implications of horsemanship are complicated further by the connection between mastery of the self and the ability to command the obedience of others, which has particularly troubling implications when horse analogies are used to describe mastery over human subjects. Nevertheless, drawing analogies between horses and humans was perhaps more appropriate than a comparison with other animals as they were viewed as highly intelligent creatures. For example, in 1607 Gervase Markham asserted that horses were ‘a Beast of a most excellent understanding and of more rare and pure sense than any other Beast whatsoever.’⁴⁴ Yet, while horses may have been perceived as occupying a place among the higher animals in the gradational Chain of Being, they were still viewed as ‘beasts’ and denied recourse to reason. For example, in *The First Booke of Cattell* (1587), Leonard Mascall questioned the intelligence of horses due to their willing obedience to humans when he states, ‘For both horse and moiles are beasts of a great strength, if they had vnderstanding no man should be able to rule them.’⁴⁵ Mascall suggests that man is able to rule horses because they lack rationality. To compare the obedience of subjects to that shown by horses, regardless of the positive qualities associated with the animal, denotes dehumanised servitude.

In *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* (c.1553), Étienne de la Boétie used the resistance of ‘the very beasts’ to shame humans for not rebelling against their own subjugation.⁴⁶ To support this argument, Boétie specifically cited the defiance of horses:

⁴³ Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London, 1531), sig.I3^v.

⁴⁴ Markham Gervase, *Cauelearice, or the English Horseman* (London, 1607), VIII, sig.C4^v.

⁴⁵ Leonard Mascall, *The First Booke of Cattell* (London, 1587), sig.P3^v.

⁴⁶ Étienne de la Boétie, *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, trans. by Harry Kurz (New York: Free Life Books, 1975 [c.1553]), p.58. *The Politics of Obedience* primarily circulated in manuscript form but was published in two separate Huguenot publications without Boétie’s permission. Harry Kurz’s modern translation is based on the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale which is believed to have originally belonged to Montaigne.

We feed the horse from birth in order to train him to do our bidding. Yet he is tamed with such difficulty that when we begin to break him in he bites the bit, he rears at the touch of the spur, as if to reveal his instinct and show by his actions that, if he obeys, he does not of his own free will but under constraint.⁴⁷

Boétie recounts the process of taming a horse to undermine the belief that their obedience is voluntary; horses are broken into subjugation. Later in the text, Boétie invokes tamed horses to describe how rulers maintain power over a large body of individuals with little resistance, claiming that like horses which ‘first bite the bit and later like it’, humans ‘grow accustomed to the idea that they have always been in subjection’.⁴⁸ Boétie describes the commonwealth as a tamed horse that willingly and proudly bears the tools of its oppression, oblivious to any other means of existence. Comparably, in 1597 a member of Parliament claimed that if ‘the ruder sort [...] were privy to their own strength and liberty allowed them by the law, [they] would be as unbridled and untamed beasts’.⁴⁹ While this statement questions the intelligence of the ‘the ruder sort’, it also identifies them as a threat to the ruling elite; if the common people were made aware of their strength, which Mascall suggest horses and mules are unable to comprehend, they would turn against their governors. The symbol of the powerful rider governing a ‘courageous and great horse’ as representative of the ruling elite’s sovereignty is here revealed to be dangerously unstable.

The threat posed by an unruly and disobedient horse/commonwealth is made explicit in an epigram in Andrea Alciato’s *Emblemata* (first published in 1531):

Do you want to know why the land of Thessaly changes its overlords so often, how it comes about that it looks for different leaders? – It does not know how to flatter, or how to stroke anyone the right way, the behaviour every prince’s court displays. Like a noble stallion, it throws from its back every horseman who does not know how to control it. Nor may the master treat the horse

For further discussion, see Nannerl O. Keohane, ‘The Radical Humanism of Étienne de la Boétie’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38 (1977), 119-130 (pp.119-120).

⁴⁷ Boetie, pp.57-58.

⁴⁸ Boetie, p.65.

⁴⁹ ‘Speech to Parliament, 1597’, in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, ed. by R. A. Roberts, 24 vols: 7 (London: HMSO, 1899), p.542.

savagely: his only course of action is to make the creature wear a harsher bit with jagged teeth.⁵⁰

Alciato's emblem (Figure 2.2), appears to propose a form of popular sovereignty, whereby the ruler governs only with the consent of the people; like Whitney's emblem, it suggests that the people need a capable ruler, just as the horse requires a competent rider, as opposed to an individual who uses punitive measures to force obedience. The 'jagged bit' represents the use of severe laws and punishments to control subjects but suggests that such measures do not secure the willing obedience of subjects, which is why tyrannical rulers are so readily replaced.

James I, who was an ardent proponent of absolutism, highlighted the dangers posed by a commonwealth that opposed its ruler in *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (1598):

it is certaine that a king can neuer be so monstrously vicious, but hee will generally fauour iustice, and maintaine some order, except in the particulars, wherein his inordinate lustes and passions cary him away; where by the contrary, no King being, nothing is vnlawfull to none: And so the olde opinion of the Philosophers prooues trew, That better it is to liue in a Commonwealth, where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull to all men; the Commonwealth at that time resembling an vndanted young horse that hath casten his rider: For as the diuine Poet Dv Bartas sayth, Better it were to suffer some disorder in the estate, and some spots in the Commonwealth, then in pretending to reforme, vtterly to ouerthrow the Republicke.⁵¹

James uses an equine analogy here to enforce a country's need for a ruler, asserting that without one the commonwealth will be disorderly, and suggests that this situation presents an equal level of danger as a king who is carried away by his 'lustes and passions' or, to use Plato's

⁵⁰ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata: Lyons, 1550*, trans. and ed. by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p.42. The first printed work to be recognised as an emblem book, Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* was a popular text, with numerous editions published throughout Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1550 edition of Alciato's *Emblemata* is the last authorised text, which includes all but one of the previously published emblems ('Adversus naturam peccantes' is excluded) and eleven unique emblems. Early English versions of Alciato's emblems can be found in Thomas Palmer's manuscript emblem book *Two Hundred Poosees* (c.1566, London, British Library, MS Sloane 3794) and Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (cited above). However, Palmer's and Whitney's texts do not include all of Alciato's emblems and many of these English versions are not direct translations of the original emblems. For further discussion of Palmer's use of Alciato, see John Manning, 'Continental Emblem Books in Sixteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Sloane MS. 3794', *Emblematica*, 1 (1986) 1-11. For Whitney's use of Alciato, see Mary V. Silcox, "'Gleanings Out of Other Mens Harvestes': Alciato in Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*", in *The Art of the Emblem: Essays in Honour of Karl Josef Hoeltgen*, ed. by Michael Bath, John Manning and Alan R. Young (New York: AMS Press, 1993), pp.161-200.

⁵¹ James VI and I, *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (Edinburgh, 1598), sig.D6^v.

figuration, a king who is dragged down by the ignoble horse. James therefore inverts the ideal conveyed in Alciato's and Whitney's emblems and asserts that it is better to be governed by a flawed ruler/rider than for the horse/commonwealth to roam about freely.

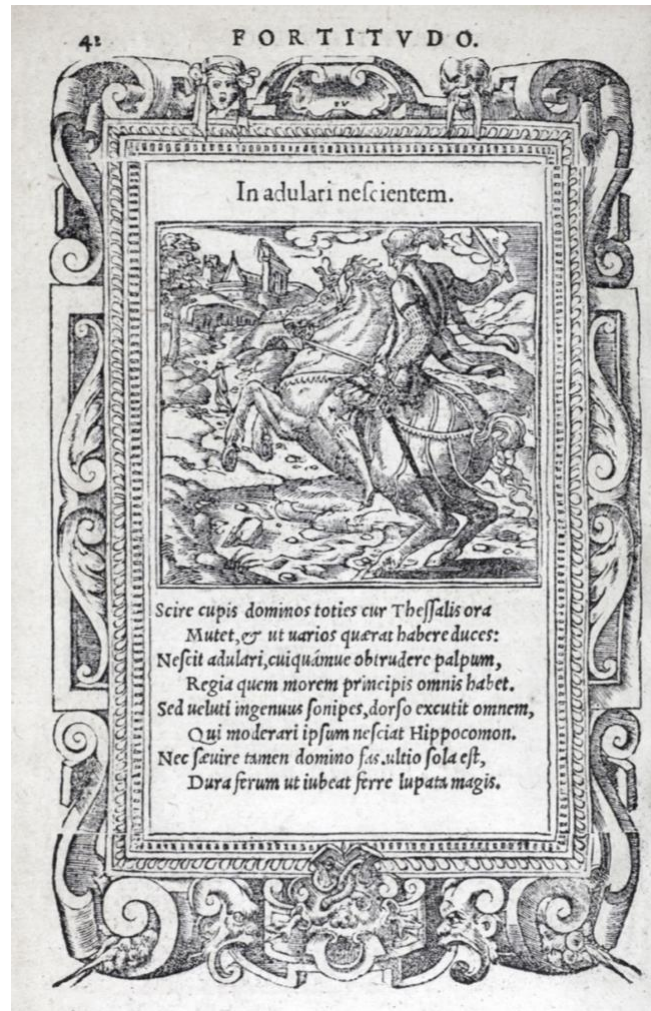


Figure 2.2: 'In adulari nescientem', in Andreo Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyons, 1550), sig.C5^v. Image reproduced by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

Nevertheless, a selection of political treatises in the early modern period associated the abuse of power with the unrestrained appetites of rulers, often metaphorically appropriating the bridle and the bit to represent the means by which they should be restrained. In his *Monarchie de France* (1515), Claude de Seyssel described religion, justice and polity as three bridles that restrained the absolute power of the king and prevented him from becoming a tyrant.⁵² The

⁵² Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. by J. H. Hexter and ed. by Donald R. Kelley (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p.51. For further discussion, see Rebecca Ard Boone, *War, Domination, and the Monarchy of France: Claude de Seyssel and the Language of Politics in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

portrayal of the laws of God and humans as bridles were also found in English texts. For example, in *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed of their Subjects and Wherein they may Lawfully by Gods Worde be Disobeyed and Resisted* (1558), the Marian exile Christopher Goodman suggested that to obey the ‘vnlawful demandes’ of an anointed ruler would be to ‘geue them the bridle to all kynde of mischiffe, to subuerte all Lawes of God and man, to let will rule for reason, and therby to inflame Gods wrathe against you’.⁵³ To prevent such disruption from occurring, the author of the Huguenot tract *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579) argued that, while it may be viewed as ‘unworthy the majesty of Kings, to have their wills bridled by Laws’, ‘nothing is more royall then to have our unruly desires ruled by good lawes’.⁵⁴ In his controversial treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (first published in Latin in 1579, with an English translation published in 1680), James I’s former tutor George Buchanan asserted that power belonged to people who conferred it to the monarch on the condition that he kept them safe and served their best interests, and suggested that to restrain the king’s ‘inordinat affections’ he should be adjoined to ‘the Law, as it were a [...] a bridler of his lusts’.⁵⁵ Buchanan suggests that because the law is the ‘voice of the people’, the people are therefore more powerful than both the law and the king.⁵⁶ He extended the equine analogy in line with this idea to propose that because the ‘bridle’, ‘sadless, girdings and spurrs’ are ‘made for the horse sake’, and without the horse there would be no ‘use of such things’, then the ‘horse is then better than all these’.⁵⁷ By extension, he asserts that because the king is made for the ‘peoples good’, then there is ‘no need of Kings’ without the people.⁵⁸ In this text, the equine trope undermines the sovereignty of the king over his subjects. Taken collectively, these

⁵³ Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed of their Subjects and Wherein they May Lawfully by Gods Worde be Disobeyed and Resisted* (Geneva, 1558), sig.I6^v-I7^r.

⁵⁴ Junius Brutus, *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos: A Defence of Liberty against Tyrants. Or, of the Lawful Power of the Prince over the People, and of the People over the Prince* (London, 1648), sig.K^v.

⁵⁵ George Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos, or, A Dialogue, Concerning the Due Priviledge of Government in the Kingdom of Scotland* ([S.L., 1680), sig.B4^v.

⁵⁶ Buchanan, sig.F2^r.

⁵⁷ Buchanan, sig.F2^v.

⁵⁸ Buchanan, sig.F3^r.

political treatises suggest that the law and the people constrained the absolute power of rulers, just as bridles constrained the immense physical strength of horses.

The equine trope was also employed to encourage a mutually beneficial relationship between sovereign and subject. For example, the focus in Alciato's emblem is on the horse as 'In adulari nescientem' (unable to flatter), and therefore as incapable of discouraging unfavourable qualities in governors.⁵⁹ Whitney's emblem, which was dedicated to Philip Sidney, identifies these qualities as 'judgement grave [...] learning, witte, and [...] conscience cleare'. Notably, the exordium to Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (written c.1579 and printed in 1595), includes a short treatise on horsemanship in which he recalls the Italian riding master Giovanni Pietro Pugliano's valorisation of the horse as 'a peerlesse beast' and the 'onely serviceable Courtier without flattery, the beast of most beautie, faithfulness, courage, and such more'.⁶⁰ In Alciato's and Whitney's emblems, and Sidney's text, the horse embodies the qualities of an ideal advisor to the king. Sidney also reports Pugliano's view that 'no earthly thing breed such wonder to a Prince as, to be a good horseman. Skill of gouernment, was but a Pedanteria in comparison.'⁶¹ Sidney is perhaps gently mocking the riding master for his 'strong affection and weake arguments', however, he also represents perfect horsemanship as an idealised form of governance in the Second Book of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (first published in 1593), when describing Musidorus's skill on horseback, which suggests he also believed excellence in riding conveyed an ability to govern.⁶²

In the early modern period the saddling and harnessing of horses was not enough to signal human dominion: this was emphasised by the perfecting of riding skills in equestrian sports, such as the joust and the manège.⁶³ Edwards argues that the skills displayed by gentlemen or

⁵⁹ Andreo Alciato, *Emblemata: Lyons, 1550*, trans. and ed. by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p.42.

⁶⁰ Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie by Sir Phillip Sidney* (London, 1595), sig.B^v.

⁶¹ Sidney, *Defence*, sig.B^v.

⁶² Sidney, *Defence*, sig.B^v.

⁶³ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p.21.

aristocrats in such sports symbolised more than just control of an animal as, '[b]y showing his easy mastery over such a noble and puissant creature, the rider, as a representative of the ruling elite, provided a justification for aristocratic power and influence.'⁶⁴ In the *Arcadia*, despite being disguised as the Shepherd Dorus, Musidorus's royal blood is betrayed by his expert horsemanship when Pamela recounts how,

he (as if Centaurlike he had bene one peece with the horse), was no more moued, then one is with the going of his owne legs: and in effect so did he command him, as his owne limmes; for though he had both spurres and wand, they seemed rather markes of soueraintie, then instruments of punishment; his hande and legge (with most pleasing grace) commanding without threatning, and rather remembring the[n] chastising, at lest if sometimes he did, it was so stollen, as neither our eies could discern it, nor the horse with any change did complaine of it: he ever going so iust with the horse, either foorth right, or turning, that it seemed as he borrowed the horses body, so he lent the horse his minde: in the turning one might perceiue the bridle-hand something gently stir, but indeed so gently, as it did rather distill vertue, then vse violence.⁶⁵

As Musidorus is the Prince of Thessaly, Sidney's description of his prowess on horseback was arguably influenced by Alciato's emblem, which compares the people of Thessaly to 'a noble stallion [that] throws from its back every horseman who does not know how to control it.'⁶⁶ As is suggested in Alciato's emblem, the disguised Prince does not use force to control his horse; the defining mark of Musidorus's majesty is his ability to command the horse without inflicting pain through the use of 'spurres and wand'. In her discussion of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Elizabethan politics, Blair Worden notes that although bridling 'is a movement in authority', 'the good rider, in bridling, works with the horse, not against it. His concern is harmony and order, not subjugation. His rule is an image of moderation.'⁶⁷ Musidorus's gentle treatment of his mount creates a spectacle of graceful unity between horse and rider, causing him to appear centaur-like. However, the prince's refrainment from violence prevents the allusion to this hybrid creature from suggesting a lack of self-control. Elizabeth Anne Socolow argues that the connection made between perfect horsemanship and majesty in the *Arcadia* is also evident in

⁶⁴ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p.28.

⁶⁵ Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1593), sig.K6^v-L^r.

⁶⁶ Alciato, *Emblemata*, p.42.

⁶⁷ Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), p.323.

Sidney's exordium to the *Defence of Poesie*, which she suggests emerged out of the literary culture of poets and other writers advising governors.⁶⁸ Socolow describes Sidney's brief treatise on horsemanship 'as the training ground for resisting the tyrannical imposition of our will on sentient beings and therefore serves as the high road to virtue.'⁶⁹ Accordingly, Musidorus's prowess on horseback serves as an example to monarchs on how they should conduct themselves in hierarchical relations with their subjects, proposing that sentient beings, regardless of whether they are human or equine, require gentle persuasion to do one's will rather than violence.

In line with Sidney's figuration of harmonious majesty as commanding without force, Alciato's emblem emphasises the horse's refusal to be treated savagely unless the animal does not have a choice due to the usage of a harsh bit with 'jagged teeth'. From the late sixteenth century onwards, such violent treatment was actively discouraged in horsemanship manuals, the majority of which proposed gentle persuasion as a far more efficient method of taming horses. Thomas Blundeville's *The Fower Chiefyst Offices Belongyng to Horsemanshippe* (1566), which was an expanded version of Federico Grisone's *Gli Ordini de Cavalcare* (1550), encourages the use of 'gentle handlynge' when taming a wild horse or colt and advised riders 'to make much of hym when he sheweth himselfe obedient vnto you', for example by 'cherishing hym with your hande'.⁷⁰ Although Blundeville does suggest beating a particularly stubborn horse 'wyth a good stycke vpon the head betwyxt the eares', he demonstrates a concern for the wellbeing of horses during the taming process, describing measures to prevent straining 'the tender gristle of his nose' and 'hurting his backe'.⁷¹ In the first book of his *Country Contentments* (1615), Gervase Markham similarly suggests that when correcting a horse's behaviour, the spurs, rod and bridle should be used sparingly, instead emphasising the

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Anne Socolow, 'Letting Loose the Horses: Sir Philip Sidney's Exordium to *The Defence of Poesie*', in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp.121-142.

⁶⁹ Socolow, p.140.

⁷⁰ Thomas Blundeville, *The Fower Chiefyst Offices Belongyng to Horsemanshippe* (London, 1566), sig.D2^r, D2^v, D2^r.

⁷¹ Blundeville, sig.D2^v, D2^r.

effectiveness of verbal admonishments: ‘the voice which being deliuered sharply, and roughly as *ha vullaine, cariko, diablo* and such like threatnings terrifieth the *horse*, and maketh him afraid to dissobey’.⁷² Markham also advises riders to use three types of ‘cherishings’ to reward their horses:

the voice which being deliuered smoothly and louingly, as crying *holla, so boy, there boy there*, and such like giues the *horse* both a cheerfulness of spirit, and a knowledge that he hath done wel, then the hand by clapping gently on the necke, or the buttock, or giuing him grasse or other foode to eat, after he hath pleased you: And lastly the big end of the *rod*, by rubbing him therewith vpon the withers or maine, which is very pleasing and delightful to the *horse*.⁷³

Markham’s recommendations highlight the importance of communication between horse and rider to ensure that the animal is just as happy as the human. It also interestingly shows how a tool of punishment can become a means of rewarding a horse for good behaviour.

Comparably, John Astley drew heavily on Xenophon and Grisone’s horsemanship manuals in his *Art of Riding* (1584) but rejected their crueller methods of taming as he claimed that the horse ‘is a creature sensible’ and ‘shunne all such things as annoy them, and to like all such things as doo delight them’.⁷⁴ For Astley, the main objective of treating the horse in such a respective manner is to gain its obedience, which he defines as ‘a readie willingnes to doo the will of him that dooth command’.⁷⁵ There is a distinction made here between the horse that appears willing to obey his master and the horse which is forced to do so through oppressive measures. Following Xenophon’s advice, Astley asserts that the good horseman should abstain from forcing horses ‘on the hand with the bit, and to torment them with spurres, rod, or whip’, as such methods prevent the horse from performing to ‘his best courage, shape, and forme’.⁷⁶ When the rider takes a gentle approach ‘both the horsse shall take great pleasure of the riding, and also that he shall appeare to the beholders verie noble, terrible, and beautifull’.⁷⁷ While

⁷² Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments* (London, 1615), sig.G^r.

⁷³ Markham, *Country Contentments*, sig.G^r.

⁷⁴ John Astley, *The Art of Riding* (London, 1584), sig.B2^r.

⁷⁵ Astley, sig.B2^r.

⁷⁶ Astley, sig.C3^r.

⁷⁷ Astley, sig.C4^r.

such treatment may suggest a concern for the animal's welfare, Edwards argues that there is a more self-serving motivation, as '[t]he image of the relaxed horse and rider, acting in harmony, served as a powerful political metaphor'.⁷⁸ A delicate balance was therefore required between efficiently controlling your horse and simultaneously projecting an image of easy mastery; obviously violent and oppressive horsemanship could indicate the rider's lack of self-restraint and tyrannical nature.

The anonymous play *Edward III* (first published in 1596), which is now partially attributed to Shakespeare, employs the juxtaposition between oppressive and harmonious horsemanship to convey the difference between tyrannical and just rulers, when King John addresses the French troops as they prepare to battle against the English:

He that you fight for rules in clemency
And reins you with a mild and gentle bit,
He against whom you fight, if he prevail,
Will straight enthrone himself in tyranny,
Make slaves of you and with a heavy hand
Curtail and curb your sweetest liberty. (III.iii.145-150)⁷⁹

This passage captures the idea that rulers should use gentle means of governing, like good horsemen, to secure the obedience of their subjects. In contrast, tyrants restrict their subjects' freedoms, just as poor horsemen govern with harsh hands and the excessive use of the rein and bit. Although the extent of Shakespeare's involvement in *Edward III* is disputed, this short extract demonstrates the multivalent application of the equine trope in early modern drama to represent the conflict between sovereignty and tyranny.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Edwards, 'Image and Reality', p.297.

⁷⁹ William Shakespeare and Anon., *King Edward III*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot and Nicola Bennett, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

⁸⁰ For further discussion of Shakespeare's authorship of *Edward III*, see: Tucker Brooke (ed.), *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp.xx-xxiii, 441-442, 448-453; David Kernot, Terry Bossomaier and Roger Bradbury, 'Did William Shakespeare and Thomas Kyd Write *Edward III*?', *International Journal on Natural Language Computing*, 6 (2017), 1-13; Peter Kirwan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Apocrypha: Negotiating the Boundaries of the Dramatic Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.146-161; Brian Vickers, 'The Two Authors of *Edward III*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 67 (2014), 102-118.

As is clear from the historical context, horsemanship was a highly performative display of political power, which the commercial playhouses could have exploited for entertainment purposes. However, it is generally agreed that horses were not used on the early stage, with very few exceptions, such as in *Thomas of Woodstock*. William J. Lawrence has disputed the presence of actual horses in early modern theatres due to the size of the stages, the noise their hooves would make and the distress that the theatre environment would cause for the animals.⁸¹ For example, despite the plethora of equine references in *Henry V*, the play's opening chorus makes it explicitly clear that horses were not used:

Think when we talk of horses, that you see them
Printing their proud hoofs i'th' receiving earth.
For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,
Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times (Prologue 26-29).

There are numerous other instances in early modern plays where horses are invoked but do not necessarily need to appear on stage, which suggests that when appropriating the equine trope playwrights relied on the audience's knowledge of these animals and their myriad functions, including the ubiquitous cultural associations drawn between horsemanship and governance that have been outlined in the introduction to this chapter.

Before turning to Shakespeare's use of horse imagery in the *Henriad*, I will first consider how 2 *Tamburlaine* and *Woodstock* use horsemanship in a markedly more visual manner than Shakespeare to reconceptualise the idea of the mounted ruler as an emblem of effective governance. Both plays achieve this by challenging the use of horses in the construction of princely identity and the performative nature of horsemanship. Analysis of these plays provides a wider contextual understanding of how early modern playwrights engaged with the political connotations of horsemanship, which helps to better situate Shakespeare's appropriation of the equine trope in the *Henriad*.

⁸¹ William J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp.270-276.

2.2 Tyrannical Horsemanship in 2 *Tamburlaine the Great*

Arguably the most spectacular use of oppressive horsemanship in early modern drama occurs in Act Four, Scene Three of Marlowe's 2 *Tamburlaine the Great*. The scene is well known for Tamburlaine's triumph over, and degrading oppression of, the Kings of Natolia, Jerusalem, Trebizond and Soria. In his discussion of the tyrannical associations of riding in the early modern period, De Ornellas refers only in passing to this scene as an example of a bridle being used on stage as a prop.⁸² By placing this scene in the wider context of the cultural significance of the horse in the early modern period, this section will argue that 2 *Tamburlaine the Great* employs the association between the ability of rulers to control horses and their ability to govern their subjects to criticise the oppression exercised by a tyrant.⁸³

Act Four, Scene Three of 2 *Tamburlaine* opens with the powerful visual spectacle of Tamburlaine being '*drawn in his chariot by [the kings of] Trebizond and Soria with bits in their mouths, reins in his left hand, in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them*' (IV.iii.Osd). The opening dumb show of George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta*, which was performed at Gray's Inn in 1566, is a likely source for this scene:

there came in vpon the Stage a king with an Imperiall crown vpon hys head, very richly aparreled: a sceptre in his right hande, a mounde with a crosse in his lefte hande, sitting in a Chariote very richly furnished, drawen in by iiij. kings in their dublets and hosen, with crownes also vpon theyr heads, representing vnto vs ambition, by the historie of Sesostres king of Eygypt, who being in his time and reigne a mightie Conquerour, yet not content to have subdued many princes, and taken from them their kingdomes and dominions, did in lyke maner cause those kings whom he had so ouercome, to drawe in hys Chariot like beastes and Oxen, thereby to content his unbrideled ambitious desire.⁸⁴

If Marlowe did take inspiration from this dumb show, Tamburlaine's human-drawn chariot is not to be taken as a comic parody but rather as a portrayal of the conquered kings' unjust

⁸² De Ornellas, p.55.

⁸³ Christopher Marlowe, 'Tamburlaine the Great, Part II', in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.69-136.

⁸⁴ George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, 'Jocasta', in *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne* (London, 1587), sig.F5^r-M4^r (sig.F6^r). For discussion of *Jocasta* as a source, see Eugene M. Waith, 'Marlowe and the Jades of Asia', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 5 (1965), 229-245 (p.231).

oppression. The dumb show is explicitly described as conveying the King of Egypt's 'unbridled ambitious desire', thus comparing him to an unruly horse; by appropriating this same spectacle Marlowe denotes Tamburlaine's unrestrained passions and confirms his unsuitability to rule.

Moreover, by scourging the conquered Kings that drive his chariot Tamburlaine demonstrates that he is a poor horseman which further emphasises his tyrannical nature. As we have seen, tormenting horses with 'spurres, rod, or whip' was specifically condemned by Astley because it prevented horses from performing to their 'best courage, shape, and forme'.⁸⁵ Astley advises riders to take a more humane approach as this projects a more controlled image of mastery through which they will 'appeare to the beholders verie noble, terrible, and beautifull'.⁸⁶

Echoing Astley's advice, Tamburlaine claims that it is through his chariot being drawn by the kings that he displays himself as a 'figure of dignity [...] and majesty' (IV.iii.25-26). However, as he achieves this through inflicting pain on the kings who draw his chariot, Tamburlaine fails to represent himself as the ideal sovereign because, as Astley suggests, this is only possible when there is evident harmony between horse and rider.⁸⁷ Due to the apparent physical suffering of the conquered kings, the spectacle of Tamburlaine's human-drawn chariot does not represent him as a ruler who has easy mastery over his subjects but one who governs through oppressive measures. In addition, there is a striking visual difference between driving a chariot and riding astride a horse as there is a physical distancing between the charioteer and the horses, which suggests a disconnect between ruler and subject. The king-drawn chariot visually conveys that Tamburlaine does not rule to the benefit of his subjects but to fulfil his own ambitions for power.

Tamburlaine's speech to his captives at the beginning of Act Four, Scene Three reinforces the cruel nature of his methods and is therefore necessary to cite in full:

⁸⁵ Astley, sig.C3^r.

⁸⁶ Astley, sig.C4^r.

⁸⁷ Astley, sig.C4^r.

Holla ye pampered jades of Asia!
 What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day
 And have so proud a chariot at your heels
 And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine,
 But from Asphaltis, where I conquered you,
 To Byron here where thus I honour you?
 The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven
 And blow the morning from their nostrils,
 Making their fiery gait above the clouds,
 Are not so honoured in their governor
 As you, ye slaves, in mighty Tamburlaine.
 The headstrong jades of Thrace Alcides tamed,
 That King Aegeus fed with human flesh
 And made so wanton that they knew their strengths,
 Were not subdued with valour more divine
 Than you by this unconquered arm of mine.
 To make you fierce, and fit by my appetite,
 You shall be fed with flesh as raw as blood
 And drink in pails the strongest muscatel.
 If you can live with it, then live, and draw
 My chariot swifter than the racking clouds.
 If not, then die like beasts and fit for nought
 But the perches for the black and fatal raven.
 Thus am I right the scourge of highest Jove,
 And see the figure of my dignity
 By which I hold my name and majesty. (IV.iii.1-26)

By referring to the conquered kings as the ‘pampered jades of Asia’ Tamburlaine not only denies them their human status but further degrades them by referring to them as horses ‘of inferior breed.’⁸⁸ Furthermore, by suggesting that the kings should be as honoured to draw his chariot as the horses ‘which guide the golden eye of heaven’, Tamburlaine aligns himself here with the sun-god Phoebus, thus elevating himself to a divine state. He also refers to the story of Hercules’ eighth labour, in which he tames and drives off the horses that King Aegeus fed on human flesh. Tamburlaine compares himself to Hercules through his ability to tame the kings. However, by simultaneously comparing himself to King Aegeus, in his claim that he will make his captives ‘fierce’ by feeding them ‘with flesh as raw as blood’, Tamburlaine also identifies himself as a tyrant.

⁸⁸ ‘jade, n1.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), online edn <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/100606>> [accessed 29 September 2014].

Eugene Waith argues that the allusion to the Thracian King's mares specifically points to Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a source for Marlowe's speech, as they are described in this text as the 'pampered jades of Thrace.'⁸⁹ It is likely that Marlowe was also influenced by the numerous transformations of humans into animals that occur in this text. For example, at the end of his speech, Tamburlaine repeats his self-proclaimed title as 'the scourge of highest Jove'. Through his degrading treatment of the kings, Tamburlaine arguably lives up to this name as throughout Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the gods torment their victims by transforming them into animals. Taking this into consideration, G. B. Riddehough argues that 'Ovid gets some of the most striking effects by stressing the metamorphosis of what is especially human or specially sensitive — the skin, the face, the hands, the feet, and of course, the tongue.'⁹⁰ The tongue, as the organ of speech, is particularly important as language was cited as a defining point of difference between humans and animals in the early modern period. While the Kings of Trebizond and Soria are still visually human, by being bridled they literally cannot speak out against their treatment and are silenced like horses. The importance of this silencing is emphasised when the Kings of Natolia and Jerusalem, who are not being used to draw the chariot, protest the treatment of their allies. In response Theridamas states,

Your majesty must get some bits for these,
To bridle their contemptuous cursing tongues
That like unruly never-broken jades
Break through the hedges of their hateful mouths
And pass their fixèd bounds exceedingly (IV.iii.43-47).

By figuring the tongues of the conquered kings as horses that need to be tamed (which recalls Techelles's advice for Tamburlaine to 'rein' Bajazeth's tongue in part one), Theridamas suggests that their most human feature, their ability to speak and communicate their thoughts, is what needs to be broken. Techelles furthers this metaphor by suggesting a more permanent and violent silencing of the conquered kings: 'Nay, we will break the hedges of their mouths / and pull their kicking colts out of their pastures' (IV.iii.48-49). Here Techelles proposes that they

⁸⁹ Eugene Waith, 'Marlowe and the Jades of Asia', in *Patterns and Perspectives in English Renaissance Drama* (London: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp.209-224 (p.211).

⁹⁰ G. B. Riddehough, 'Man-into-Beast Changes in Ovid', *Phoenix*, 13 (1959), p.206.

should break the kings' teeth and cut out their tongues, which are again depicted as rebellious horses. While these threatened elinquations are not enacted, Celebinus restrains their 'coltish coach-horse tongues' with bridles and mockingly asks the King of Natolia, 'How like you that, sir king? Why speak you not?' (IV.iii.53). It is likely that an actual bridle was used at this point in the play as 'Tamberlyne's brydle' is mentioned in Henslowe's diary, which highlights the visual significance of this prop in representing the degrading and inhumane treatment of the captive kings.⁹¹ The onstage bridling of Orcanes is not concerned simply with the symbolic connotations of control but what it physically entails — the loss of language.

The dehumanisation of the captive kings continues after Tamburlaine's death at the end of 2 *Tamburlaine* when he passes on the reigns of his kingdom to his son Amyras, both figuratively and literally. Before he dies Tamburlaine orders Amyras to, 'Sit up, my boy, and with those silken reins / Bridle the steeled stomachs of those jades' (V.iii.202-203). The contrast between the 'silken reins' and the 'steeled stomachs' of the human chariot-drawers highlights the inherent power imbalance between ruler and ruled. Despite the delicacy of the 'silken reins' wielded by rulers, they manage to control and harness the steel-like strength of their subjects. Nevertheless, Tamburlaine warns his son:

So, reign, my son! Scourge and control those slaves,
Guiding thy chariot with thy father's hand.
[...]
The nature of these proud rebelling jades
Will take Occasion by the slenderest hair
And draw thee piecemeal like Hippolytus
Through rocks more steep and sharp than Caspian cliffs. (V.iii.228-242)

Tamburlaine suggests it is necessary for Amyras to rule with a cruel hand or risk being dragged to his death, as Hippolytus was by his horses; his concern, therefore, is not ruling his subjects correctly but the maintenance of power. However, Tamburlaine acknowledges that this treatment will cause subjects to 'take Occasion by the slenderest hair' to overthrow their ruler, thus highlighting the fragility of such power. By comparing Tamburlaine's method of

⁹¹ Carol C. Rutter (ed.), *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.136.

governance with the severe treatment of horses, Marlowe suggests that sovereigns who rule through oppressive governance deny the human status of their subjects and fail to achieve their willing obedience.

In *2 Tamburlaine the Great* the equine trope is used to convey Tamburlaine's unrestrained appetite for power. The ability of the Kings of Natolia and Jerusalem to protest their treatment before they are bridled creates sympathy as it reminds the audience of their human status and thus serves to condemn Tamburlaine's oppressive methods. By using the defeated kings to draw his chariot, Tamburlaine calls his own humanity into question. The overt cruelty of Tamburlaine's methods troubles his advice to Amyras at the end of *2 Tamburlaine* that it is necessary to treat those you rule in such a way or risk losing your throne, as this suggests that such rulers are only concerned with the preservation of their sovereignty, not with their subjects' welfare.

2.3 Harmonious Horsemanship in *Thomas of Woodstock*

A starkly different image of horsemanship to that found in *2 Tamburlaine* is offered in the anonymous manuscript play *Thomas of Woodstock*. While recent studies have focused on *Woodstock* because of the potential use of a real horse on stage in Act Three, Scene Two, it has mainly attracted critical debate due to the contested issues of both its authorship and date of production. At the centre of these debates is the question of whether Shakespeare wrote the play as the first part of *Richard II*, as has been suggested by Michael Egan.⁹² Macdonald P. Jackson disputes Egan's argument and has used stylometric analysis to assert that *Woodstock* is a Jacobean play by Samuel Rowley.⁹³ Janet Clare has engaged with these conflicting arguments

⁹² Michael Egan, 'Did Samuel Rowley write *Thomas of Woodstock*?', *The Oxfordian*, 10 (2007), 35-54; Michael Egan, 'Slurs, Nasal Rhymes and Amputations: A Reply to MacDonald P. Jackson', *The Oxfordian*, 11 (2009), 157-206.

⁹³ Macdonald P. Jackson, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 14 (2001), 17-65; Macdonald P. Jackson, 'The Date and Authorship of *Thomas of Woodstock*: Evidence and Its Interpretation', *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 46 (2007), 67-100. Jackson builds on David J. Lake's argument that *Woodstock* was revised by Samuel Rowley in the

and, while she agrees that Shakespeare did not write *Woodstock*, suggests that ‘on the basis of common ideological concerns *Woodstock* would appear to belong to the cluster of chronicle and medieval history plays that were so popular in the 1590s.’⁹⁴ Clare aligns herself with the editors of *Richard II*, such as Charles Forker, who regard *Woodstock* as a source for Shakespeare’s play.⁹⁵ If we accept *Woodstock* as a source for *Richard II*, it is arguable that the use of horse imagery and an actual horse in the staging of the anonymous play influenced Shakespeare’s appropriation of the equine trope. In any case, the play is of great interest to the aims of this chapter as it troubles the associations between good horsemanship and effective governance, and proposes a more harmonious model for the human-equine relationship.

In Act Three, Scene Two, the titular character of *Woodstock* appears to have a discussion with an actual horse, in which he laments the state of England under Richard II’s rule. De Ornellas has sought to overturn the generally accepted view that this scene is a ‘comic diversion’, and instead argues that *Woodstock*’s discussion with the starved horse reflects on a number of economic, political and social issues that were related to ‘discontent within the commonwealth of Elizabethan society.’⁹⁶ The present analysis of *Woodstock* builds upon De Ornellas’s argument by focusing on the horse’s representation as the commonwealth and the alternative model of governance that the play presents through the image of *Woodstock* leading the horse by the reins, as opposed to riding it. This highly symbolic spectacle of horsemanship is

seventeenth century: David J. Lake, ‘Three Seventeenth-Century Revisions: *Thomas of Woodstock*, *The Jew of Malta* and *Faustus B*’, *Notes & Queries*, 228 (1983), 133-143 (pp.135-138).

⁹⁴ Janet Clare, *Shakespeare’s Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.63. Marie Axton also argues that the play was written in the 1590s and regards it as ‘the most daring and outspoken of all the Elizabethan history plays’: Marie Axton, *The Queen’s Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p.99. When discussing the likely censorship of the play, Clare argues that it can be placed ‘between 2 *Henry VI* and *Richard II*, that is c.1593-4, on the basis of source and derivation respectively’: Janet Clare, ‘*Art made tongue-tied by authority*’: *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.43.

⁹⁵ Charles Forker argues that it is probable ‘Shakespeare attended a performance, or somehow became familiar with the promptbook’ of *Woodstock*: William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. by Charles Forker, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London: Thomson Learning, 2002), p.144; Andrew Gurr argues that *Woodstock* was a source for the first two acts of *Richard II*: William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.10; Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin also suggest that Shakespeare ‘must have seen a performance of *Woodstock*’: William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. by Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.45.

⁹⁶ De Ornellas, p.3.

juxtaposed with the equine imagery that is used to denote Richard's abuse of power throughout the play.

In the opening scene of *Woodstock*, implicit horse imagery is employed to represent the challenges of counselling Richard II, who is described as 'a wanton king' (I.i.45). Lancaster states 'A heavy charge, good Woodstock, hast thou had / To be protector to so wild a prince' (I.i.27-28). This line suggests that Woodstock's role as Lord Protector is burdensome because of the King's unruly nature. While the description of Richard as 'wild' does not overtly identify him as a horse, Woodstock describes Richard on three separate occasions as 'headstrong', a term which was regularly connected to the bodily strength of horses, their stubbornness and the necessity of bridles to restrain them (I.i.86, I.iii.238, IV.ii.189). Richard II is therefore represented as ruler that needs to be checked, like a horse.

Horse imagery is also used in *Woodstock* to represent the suffering of the commonwealth under the governance of such an unruly and indulgent monarch. In Act One, Scene One, Woodstock, who is referred to throughout the play as 'Plain Thomas', expresses his reluctance at having been forced to dress lavishly for Richard's wedding (I.i.199). However, he relents and states, 'For once I'll sumpter a gaudy wardrobe' (I.i.211). As De Ornellas has noted, 'sumpter' means to wear but also refers to a type of pack horse, which, although regarded as reliable beast of burden, would not be used in the stately processions that were intended to display the wealth and magnitude of the nobility.⁹⁷ Relatedly, Richard II questions why Woodstock's horse did not perform as expected in the wedding procession:

As we today rode on to Westminster,
Methought your horse, that wont to tread the ground
And pace as if he kicked it scornfully,
Mound and curvet like strong Bucephalus,
Today he trod as slow and melancholy
As if his legs had failed to bear his load. (I.iii.87-92)

⁹⁷ De Ornellas, p.18.

Woodstock's horse (which usually resembles Alexander's famous war horse), is described as suffering as a pack horse would under a heavy burden, thus undermining the majesty that stately processions on horseback were intended to convey to the gathered crowds. Woodstock suggests that this is because his horse has been transformed into a beast of burden:

And can ye blame the beast? Afore my God,
He was not wont to bear such loads, indeed.
A hundred oaks upon these shoulders hang
To make me brave upon your wedding day,
And more than that, to make my horse more tire,
Ten acres of good land are stitch'd up here.
You know, good coz, this was not wont to be. (I.iii.93-99)

Woodstock exaggerates the weight of the uncharacteristically ostentatious clothes he wears to Richard's wedding to convey their exorbitant cost, which he claims is the cause of his horse's suffering. The Duke goes on to defend his usual plain garments by asserting, 'Did some here wear that fashion / They would not tax and pill the commons so' (I.iii.111-112). Considering the cultural associations of the horse with the commonwealth, Woodstock's 'slow and melancholy' horse therefore represents the burden that Richard's subjects bear in order to fund the exuberant lifestyles led by the King and his courtiers.

A live horse is arguably brought on stage in Act Three, Scene One of *Woodstock* to draw out the complexities of deposing an inadequate ruler, such as Richard II. In the opening section of the scene, Woodstock laments the state of the country under the King's misgovernment:

O vulture England, wilt thou eat thine own?
Can they be rebels called that now turn head?
I speak but what I fear, not what I wish.
This foul oppression will withdraw all duty
And in the commons' hearts hot rancours breed
To make our country's bosom shortly bleed. (III.ii.84-89)

Although to 'turn head' is more commonly employed to refer to hunted prey standing at bay, given the prominence of the equine trope in this scene, Woodstock arguably alludes here to the

people as a horse ‘turning’ its head in a different direction to that commanded by its rider.⁹⁸

Notably, when defining the art of riding, Astley states that a rider should make a horse ‘obedient by reasonable meanes’, to ensure that its ‘lustines of courage, and freshnes of feeling’ is maintained.⁹⁹ Whereas ‘violence’, he claims, ‘bring[s] forth contrarie effects, as we may see by those horsses, that both without courage and comelines are ridden, with rawe noses, bloudie mouthes and sides, with their curbed places galled, turning their bodies one waie, & their heads another waie’.¹⁰⁰ Correspondingly, Woodstock uses the image of a horse resisting its rider’s commands to blame Richard’s repressive rule for the rebellion that is brewing in England, which recalls the warnings expressed in Alciato and Whitney’s emblems that if the people are ruled by a poor governor they will overthrow them, just as a horse will thrust an incompetent rider from its back.

Shortly after Woodstock expresses his fears that the people will rebel against Richard, a ‘fantastically’ dressed ‘*spruce* courtier’, enters ‘*a-horseback*’ and comically mistakes ‘Plain Thomas’ for an ‘old groom’ (I.i.99, III.ii.127, 178-179). Woodstock does not correct the courtier and leads the horse willingly, telling the animal:

Come on, sir, you have sweat hard about this haste, yet I think you know little of the business. [*Walks the horse.*] Why so, I say? You’re a very indifferent beast, you’ll follow any man that will lead you. Now truly, sir, you look but e’en leanly on’t. You feed not in Westminster Hall a-days where so many sheep and oxen are devoured. I’m afraid they’ll eat you shortly if you tarry amongst them. You’re pricked more with the spur than the provender, I see that. I think your dwelling be at hackney when you’re at home, is’t not? You know not the Duke neither, no more than your master, and yet I think you have as much wit as he. Faith, say a man should steal ye and feed ye fatter, could ye run away with him lustily? Ah, your silence argues a consent, I see. (III.ii.161-174)

De Ornellas argues that these lines do not represent ‘a “normal” conversation between two figures on stage. The animal, of course, cannot speak or even understand. Woodstock’s speech

⁹⁸ For example, in *Henry V* the Dauphin states: ‘Turn head, and stop pursuit, for coward dogs / Most spend their mouths when what they seem to threaten / Runs far before them’ (II.iv.69-71).

⁹⁹ Astley, sig.B3^r.

¹⁰⁰ Astley, sig.B3^r-B3^v.

to the horse is effectively a soliloquy.’¹⁰¹ Woodstock, however, does recognise the animal’s ability to understand because he credits it as having ‘as much wit’ as the courtier, which is admittedly an insult to the courtier but nevertheless an acknowledgment that the horse has some cognitive abilities. In addition, while the reference to ‘hackney’ suggests that the horse is of a less esteemed breed used for general-purposes, by referring to it as ‘sir’, Woodstock gives the animal a level respect that the courtier has not afforded it.¹⁰² This scene does therefore feature an exchange between a human and a horse, albeit one in which only the human can speak. The nature of the exchange would be determined in performance as in the printed text the horse is silent.

The spruce courtier’s horse, however, is clearly not just a horse; this animal and its ‘lean’ appearance represents the commonwealth and the consequences of Richard’s failures as a monarch. By observing that the animal is ‘pricked more with the spur than the provender’, Woodstock expresses concern for the fact that the animal is under-fed and over-ridden. The horse’s appearance on stage would dictate the audience’s reaction; a famished horse would evoke sympathy, while a well-fed horse would risk being comic, and perhaps even undermine Woodstock’s seemingly well-intentioned attempt to lure the horse away from its master.¹⁰³ Given that this scene adopts the usual comedic vehicle of mistaken identity, it is likely that the exchange is meant to be humorous but only to undercut its more dangerous content.

Woodstock’s speech to the horse is a veiled discussion about the justification of deposing a monarch who does not care for the well-being of his people and who fails to restrain his appetites, which is perhaps why food is so central to his argument. Most notably, Woodstock’s concern that Richard and his indulgent courtiers would eat the famished horse if it was left among them in Westminster, echoes his earlier outcry, ‘O vulture England, wilt thou eat thine own?’, which again supports the argument that the horse represents England as a whole

¹⁰¹ De Ornellas, p.4.

¹⁰² ‘hackney, n1.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/83066>> [accessed 10 May 2018].

¹⁰³ See De Ornellas, p.23.

(III.ii.84). This cannibalistic image is furthered through the reference to eating horses because, as Daniel W. Gade observes, their meat is the ‘only specific food outlawed in the history of Christianity.’¹⁰⁴ The English aversion to horse meat is used to emphasise the threat of the all-consuming nature of Richard’s abuse of power, and its destructive impact on traditional English values and morality. In contrast, Woodstock asks the horse: ‘Faith, say a man should steal ye and feed ye fatter, could ye run away with him lustily?’ (III.ii.173) Here, Woodstock contemplates usurping the throne to protect the commonwealth and allow it to prosper.

The Duke’s statement that the horse will ‘follow any man that will lead’ him arguably suggests that it would be easy to usurp the throne due to the fickle nature of the people. However, this statement offers a very different argument to Whitney’s and Alciato’s equestrian emblems, which suggest that the commonwealth, represented by the horse, will only be governed by a just, learned and honest ruler. Therefore, it is more likely that the horse follows Woodstock because he embodies the qualities of an ideal ruler. To begin with, Woodstock does not contemplate stealing the horse against its will but makes the animal a hypothetical proposition, luring it with food and kindness. This approach aligns with the horsemanship manuals that encourage ‘gentle and courteous dealing’ as a means of maintaining the willing obedience of horses.¹⁰⁵ Comparably, Woodstock considers gaining the ready obedience of the people, here represented by the horse, by improving their way of life. His statement, ‘Ah, your silence argues a consent, I see’ (which again highlights the comic nature of his speech as the horse cannot verbally reply to this proposition), also conveys Woodstock’s belief that the people would freely follow him if he were to usurp the throne. Nevertheless, fearing that they will be accused of treason, Woodstock quickly retracts his proposal and ends his one-sided conversation with the horse, who is represented as a co-conspirator, by stating: ‘We had been

¹⁰⁴ Daniel W. Gade, ‘Horses’, in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. by Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Conné Ornellas, 2 vols: 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.542-545 (p.543). See also Frederick J. Simmons, *Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances from Prehistory to the Present* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), p.188.

¹⁰⁵ Astley, sig.C3^r-C4^r.

both taken if we had, I see' (III.ii.175). In so doing, Woodstock acknowledges the danger of contemplating the justifications of deposing a monarch.

While it may be impossible to say for certain whether a real horse was used, the visual spectacle of Woodstock holding the reins of a famished horse would offer a starkly different depiction of the rider-horse relationship found in more traditional equestrian images, in which rulers are featured astride great mounts to denote their mastery of both their passions and their subjects. Through the Duke leading the horse by the reins on foot, in his adopted role as a groom, he is physically beneath the horse and represented as a caregiver. Relatedly, when Cheney realises that Woodstock was mistaken for a groom by the courtier, he states, 'This is somewhat too coarse your grace should be an ostler to this fellow' (*Woodstock* III.ii.181-182). However, in his previous role as Lord Protector, Woodstock was an ostler of sorts to England, both in controlling the unruly King Richard and in caring for the needs of the people. This interpretation of Act Three, Scene Two concurs with Marie Axton's argument that the author of *Woodstock* 'bases his play on the proposition that a king must protect his realm or lose his right to govern'.¹⁰⁶ By accepting the role of ostler to the famished horse, Woodstock conveys his willingness to serve for the benefit of the people rather than for his own ambitions. The play therefore uses harmonious horsemanship to propose a less oppressive mode of governance, which is in direct contract to the tyrannical horsemanship represented in *2 Tamburlaine*.¹⁰⁷

Woodstock is prevented from protecting the commonwealth as he is murdered in Act Five, possibly on Richard II's orders. The question of whether Richard was complicit in Woodstock's murder is, as A. L. French argues, 'a central issue' in Shakespeare's *Richard II*.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Woodstock's murder lies behind the dispute between Mowbray and Bolingbroke in the opening

¹⁰⁶ Axton, p.97.

¹⁰⁷ De Ornellas, p.25.

¹⁰⁸ A. L. French, 'Richard II and the Woodstock Murder', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 22 (1971), 337-344 (p.337).

scene of *Richard II*, which ultimately leads to Richard's deposition.¹⁰⁹ Although the precise relationship between the two plays is uncertain, the equine trope is used in both texts to explore the highly contentious political issues of who is best suited for governance and whether the deposition of an inadequate ruler is justifiable. In this context, the horse imagery that is employed by the author of *Woodstock* to explore Richard's mismanagement of the state provides a useful comparison for Shakespeare's employment of the equine trope in *Richard II* and the *Henriad* as a whole.

2.4 'Rode he on Barbary?': *Richard II*, a Horse, a Greyhound and an Ass



Figure 2.3: Thomas Cockson, *Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, Mounted on a Horse, with a Plan of Cadiz, the Azores and Ireland in the Background*, c.1599/1600, engraving, 33.2 x 26.3cm, British Museum, London. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

¹⁰⁹ A. P. Rossiter argues that *Richard II* depends on *Woodstock*, and suggests that the murder of Plain Thomas and its consequences 'have their most important bearing on the moral structure of Shakespeare's play': A. P. Rossiter, 'Richard II', in *Angel with Horns: Fifteen Lectures on Shakespeare*, ed. by Graham Storey (London: Longman, 1989), pp.23-39 (pp.29, 33). Alternatively, Bradley J. Irish has persuasively argued that 'an understanding of *Richard II* was not contingent on a prior viewing of *Woodstock*': Bradley J. Irish, 'Writing *Woodstock*: The Prehistory of *Richard II* and Shakespeare's Dramatic Method,' *Renaissance Drama*, 41 (2013), 131-149 (p.149).

Shakespeare's *Richard II* was as politically controversial as *Woodstock*. Not only does it appear to have been subjected to censorship but it is believed to have been performed by the Chamberlain's Men on the eve of the Essex rebellion in February 1601.¹¹⁰ It is well noted that Queen Elizabeth saw herself reflected in Richard II, as she informed William Lambarde, the royal archivist, seven months after the Essex rebellion, 'I am Richard II, know ye not that'.¹¹¹ And there is, as Louis Montrose argues, 'considerable evidence to suggest that the identification of Essex with Bolingbroke was current, and had perhaps been surreptitiously encouraged by the Earl himself.'¹¹² Taking into consideration the prominence of equine imagery in *Richard II*, it is notable that Essex held the post of Master of Horse from June 1587 (after the Earl of Leicester, Essex's step-father, resigned the coveted position to him), until his execution in February 1601.¹¹³ Horse imagery was therefore associated with Essex and politically charged. For example, in February 1600 Rowland Whyte informed Sir Robert Sidney that,

some foolish idle headed ballad maker of late cawsed many of his [Essex's] pictures to be printed on horseback, with all his titles of honor, all his services, and two verses underneath that gave hym exceeding praise for wisdom, honor, worth; that heaven and earth approve yt, Gods elected.¹¹⁴

Whyte refers here to Thomas Cockson's equestrian portrait of Essex (Figure 2.3), which represents the Earl as capable leader not only by emphasising his military accomplishments but also through his easy mastery of his pacing mount. Richard McCoy notes that after Essex's failed campaign in Ireland and subsequent house arrest in 1599, 'this engraving kept his heroic martial image in circulation and sustained his popular reputation.'¹¹⁵ Arguably in response to

¹¹⁰ For further discussion of the censorship of *Richard II*, see Janet Clare, 'The Censorship of the Deposition Scene in *Richard II*', *Review of English Studies*, 41 (1990), 89-94; Cyndia Susan Clegg, "'By the Choise and Inuitation of al the Realme": *Richard II* and Elizabethan Press Censorship', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 48 (1997), 432-448.

¹¹¹ For debates concerning this statement's authenticity, see Jason Scott-Warren, 'Was Elizabeth I Richard II?: The Authenticity of Lambarde's "Conversation"', *The Review of English Studies*, 64 (2013), 208-230.

¹¹² Louis Montrose, 'Shakespeare, the Stage, and the State', *SubStance*, 25 (1996), 46-67 (p.53).

¹¹³ Following a hearing at York House on 5 June 1600, which centred on Essex's actions as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he was removed from all positions of office with the exception of his position as Master of Horse. See Anon., 'Two Letters framed, one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, the other as the Earls answer', in *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra. Mysteries of State and Government* (London, 1654), sig.E4^r-F2^r (sig.F^r).

¹¹⁴ 'Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, Feb. 2, 1600', in *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, 4 vols: 2 (London: HMSO, 1934), pp.435.

¹¹⁵ Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (London: University of California Press, 1989), p.98.

this image, the Privy Council suppressed all engravings depicting nobles in August 1600.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Essex was not allowed to engage in the Accession Day Tilt after he was released from house arrest in the summer of 1600, presumably to keep him from the public eye and prevent him from regaining public favour through an impressive display of horsemanship.¹¹⁷ Essex's previous appearances in this equestrian-based event were regarded as 'flamboyant', as is perhaps attested to by a portrait, attributed to the studio of Nicholas Hilliard, that is believed to commemorate Essex's role in the Accession Day Tilt on 17 November 1595 (Figure 2.4).¹¹⁸ The Earl's elaborate armour and plumed helmet matches that worn by his white horse, which appears to be demonstrating the *levade* — a high-level *haute école* manoeuvre, whereby a horse rears on its hind legs with its front legs tightly tucked towards its chest. While Essex is not depicted astride the horse in this highly-controlled position, perhaps because an equestrian portrait of this kind would be considered politically inflammatory (as the response to Cockson's engraving demonstrates), the portrait indirectly alludes to his prowess on horseback, and by extension his capacity for leadership.

Katherine Duncan-Jones notes that *Richard II* was 'offered by Sir Edward Hoby as entertainment for Sir Robert Cecil in early December 1595', shortly after Essex's impressive display on horseback in the Accession Day Tilt of that year.¹¹⁹ It is impossible to know for certain if Shakespeare ever saw the Earl of Essex perform in the lists, but he would undoubtedly have been aware of his role as Master of Horse. In this context, it is tempting to consider that Shakespeare used horse imagery in *Richard II* to appeal to Essex as a potential patron.¹²⁰ While

¹¹⁶ 'Letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 30 August, 1600', in *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by John Roche Dasent, 46 vols: 30 (London: HMSO, 1905), pp.619-620.

¹¹⁷ McCoy, p.99.

¹¹⁸ McCoy, p.81. For further discussion of the 1595 Accession Day Tilt, see Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Upstaging the Queen: The Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day Celebrations of 1595', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.41-66.

¹¹⁹ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), p.87.

¹²⁰ Edmondson and Wells suggests that Shakespeare included the mating scene between Adonis's horse and a mare in *Venus and Adonis* to appeal to the poem's dedicatee, the Earl of Southampton, who also demonstrated his expertise in horsemanship during the Accession Day Tilt of 1595: Edmondson and Wells, p.24.

this argument is largely speculative, considering the Earl's connection to, and involvement in, the Elizabethan succession crisis, it is perhaps not a coincidence that Shakespeare used horse imagery to explore questions of who should ascend to the throne once Elizabeth I died.¹²¹ It is unlikely, however, that Shakespeare used the equine trope to propose Essex as a suitable heir to the throne as throughout the *Henriad* he largely employs horse imagery to question the notion that expert horsemanship signified an aptitude for ruling.¹²² Shakespeare instead draws on the traditional iconography of the mounted ruler to subvert its connotations of mastery over the self and others.



Figure 2.4: Attributed to the studio of Nicholas Hilliard, *Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex*, c.1595, watercolour and body colour on vellum, 24.8 x 20.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London. ©National Portrait Gallery, London.

¹²¹ The treatise, *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England* ([Antwerp], 1594), was published by exiled English Catholics abroad under the pseudonym R. Doleman and dedicated to the Earl of Essex. The treatise concludes that deposing Elizabeth I was as justified as the deposition of Richard II.

¹²² Comparably, Paul E. J. Hammer argues that if *Richard II* was performed on the eve of the Essex rebellion, it was intended as a warning to Essex not to follow Bolingbroke's example: Paul J. Hammer, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 1-35 (p.34).

The equine trope is central to the figuration of Richard II's misrule and subsequent deposition in Shakespeare's play. The most significant example of this is found in Act Five, Scene Five, when a former groom of the royal stables informs the deposed King that on Henry IV's 'coronation day', he 'rode on roan Barbary' (V.v.77, 78). The groom makes it clear that this horse was a favourite of Richard's and one he 'often hast bestrid' (V.v.79). The conversation that follows reflects on the wider themes of kingship through the symbolism associated with horses in the early modern period:

KING RICHARD	Rode he on Barbary? Tell me, gentle friend, How went he under him?
GROOM	So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground.
KING RICHARD	So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back! That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand; This hand hath made him proud with clapping him. Would he not stumble? would he not fall down, Since pride must have a fall, and break the neck Of that proud man that did usurp his back? (V.v.81-89)

The horse's name is derived from the highly prized Arabian breed associated with the Barbary Coast of North Africa.¹²³ Barbary is therefore a horse fit for a king, and his usurpation represents the symbolic transfer of power from Richard to Bolingbroke. There is an acute sense of betrayal that the horse, which had been fed and pampered by Richard himself, would allow another to ride him, which corresponds to the King's subjects readily accepting Henry as their new sovereign.

While the usurpation of Barbary may have been partly inspired by Plain Thomas's attempts to steal the courtier's horse in *Woodstock*, this scene is unique to Shakespeare's account of the deposition of Richard II, having no direct historical source for the incident. However, it appears

¹²³ Donna Landry has demonstrated the impact that the trade of horses from the Barbary coast of North Africa and the Ottoman Empire had on England's equestrian sports: Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

that Shakespeare drew upon an account from Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* which concerns Richard II's favourite greyhound Math:

who always waited upon the king and would know no man else; for whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him and leap with his fore feet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the earl of Derby talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king and came to the earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king. The duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the king what the greyhound would do. 'Cousin,' quoth the king, 'it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me.' 'Sir, how know you that?' quoth the duke. 'I know it well,' quoth the king, 'the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally: therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me.' The duke understood well those words and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow king Richard, but followed the duke of Lancaster.¹²⁴

Comparable to 'roan Barbary', Math is a named animal and a favourite of the King who abandons his master in favour of a new one. The emphasis in Froissart's account is on the dog's ability to foresee Richard's inevitable decline and consequent decision to follow Bolingbroke, referred to here as the Duke of Lancaster. The story is possibly used in the *Chronicles* to emphasise Richard's abandonment by his most loyal followers as before this story is recounted Froissart states that all Richard's 'knights, squires and officers yielded to the earl, to eschew the danger and peril that they were in'.¹²⁵ Relatedly, the dog was regularly used as an emblem of loyalty but also conversely of sycophancy.¹²⁶ While the ambivalence surrounding canines will be explored in more detail in the third chapter of this thesis, Shakespeare employed dog imagery in several plays to convey false flattery. Such sycophancy on the part of Math may be deduced from the imagery of the dog 'fawn[ing]' on Bolingbroke. The incident, therefore, reflects badly on the domesticated animal and, by extension, on Richard's subjects who abandon their sovereign to ensure their advancement under Bolingbroke. If Shakespeare drew upon the account to suggest Richard's loss of supporters, he made a conscious decision to

¹²⁴ Jean Froissart, *The Chronicles of Froissart*, trans. by John Bourchier, Lord Berners and ed. by G. C. Macaulay (London: Macmillan, 1895), p.464. This account is also found in John Caius, *Of Englishe Dogges*, trans. by Abraham Fleming (London, 1576), sig.C^v.

¹²⁵ Froissart, p.464.

¹²⁶ See T. R. Henn, *The Living Image: Shakespearean Essays* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp.45-48.

change Math to a horse, arguably to refute any suggestion that Bolingbroke did not have the true support of the people. In *Richard II*, Barbary is described as ‘proud that Bolingbroke was on his back’ because the animal recognises his ability to rule over England; thus undermining Richard’s claim that Bolingbroke ‘usurp[ed]’ his horse and, by extension, his throne unlawfully (V.v.83, 89).

This reading of Act Five, Scene Five of *Richard II* provides an alternative context for Richard III losing his horse during the Battle of Bosworth, and an explanation for why his cries for ‘‘A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!’’, go unanswered (*Richard III* V.iv.7). The mount Richard loses is identified as ‘white Surrey’, a horse that he arguably chose to ride into battle to convey himself as the legitimate sovereign, with the horse’s white coat ironically suggesting purity (V.iii.65).¹²⁷ However, as Richard seeks the English crown out of an ambitious desire for power, he is inevitably unhorsed when Richmond (a seemingly more appropriate candidate), comes to claim the throne. By having the tyrant place the value of his ‘kingdom’ on the back of ‘a horse’, Shakespeare represents the symbolic connections made between governance and horsemanship only to undermine them. From a military standpoint, Richard is of course at an advantage when mounted but he would lose to Richmond regardless of whether he regained a horse because the people no longer support his claim to the throne. Shakespeare therefore uses the highly symbolic image of Richard III as an overthrown rider to convey the commonwealth’s rejection of his governance.¹²⁸

While Richard II is not a tyrant to the same degree as Richard III, Edward Hall’s account of the former’s reign places a significant portion of blame on Richard II for his deposition, claiming that he, ‘did all thyng at his pleasure, setting his will and appetite in stede of lawe and reason

¹²⁷ White horses appear to have been regarded as more valuable than other colours. For example, in *Timon of Athens*, ‘four milk-white horses trapped in silver’, are regarded as suitable gifts for Lord Timon (I.ii.185). In contrast, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Arcite’s ‘black’ horse is described to be ‘not a hair-worth of white’ (V.iv.50, 51).

¹²⁸ For an alternative reading of Richard III’s relationship with White Surrey, see Erica Sheen, ‘Missing a Horse: Richard and White Surrey’, *Comparative Drama*, 50 (2016), 271-288.

[...], forgettyng and not remembryng what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthe'.¹²⁹ In Shakespeare's play, Richard II is criticised in similar terms by John of Gaunt who warns, 'With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder; / Light vanity, insatiate cormorant, / Consuming means, soon preys upon itself' (II.i.37-39). Shakespeare uses the metaphor of excessive consumption to convey Richard's indulgence of his various appetites which he rightly predicts will 'choke' the King. While Gaunt does not directly describe Richard as an animal, this is suggested by his claim that such abuse of power inevitably 'preys upon itself'. Shakespeare therefore represents Richard as a tyrant by practice who, like the charioteer in Plato's allegory, allows his reason to be pulled down by the unbridled passions of the ignoble horse.

It is Richard who makes explicit the connection between his disastrous rule and that of misgoverned horses when he compares himself to Phaethon in Act Three, Scene Three. According to the myth, Phaethon, in an effort to prove he is the son of Phoebus, requests to drive the sun chariot.¹³⁰ However, as he is unable to control the horses which draw the chariot, Phaethon risks destroying earth and is consequently killed by Zeus to prevent further destruction. Phaethon therefore proves to be an unworthy successor of his father. When Richard is confronted by Bolingbroke at Flint Castle, the King realises that he will be deposed, despite Bolingbroke claiming that he only wants his titles and lands restored and does not seek the throne. Before he surrenders to Bolingbroke, Richard declares, 'Down, down I come, like glist'ring Phaethon, / Wanting the manage of unruly jades' (III.iii.178-179). Flaherty argues that '[b]y comparing himself not to the sun god but to the mortal child of the sun god, [...]' Richard admits his own failings as a ruler.'¹³¹ More specifically, there is a possible pun here on 'manage' and 'manège', the series of exercises that were used to demonstrate aristocratic power

¹²⁹ Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* (London, 1548), sig.A2^r.

¹³⁰ The equine trope intersects here with the solar metaphor used throughout *Richard II* to represent the King's divine power on earth. For further discussion, see Samuel Kilger, 'The Sun Imagery in *Richard II*', *Studies in Philology*, 45 (1948), 196–202.

¹³¹ Flaherty, p.317.

and suitability to rule, which suggests that Richard views his failings as a ruler as his inability to make his subjects perform as he wishes, like horses. Additionally, this scene represents the confrontation between Richard and Bolingbroke at Flint Castle that is recounted in Froissart's *Chronicles*, in which Richard's greyhound Math is said to have deserted the King in favour of Bolingbroke. Shakespeare does not use this as an occasion to elaborate upon the historical account of the dog's betrayal and again substitutes the greyhound for horses to emphasise Richard's failure to rule. Through his evocation of the Phaethon myth and allusion to elite horsemanship, Richard concedes that he is unable to achieve mastery over his subjects and thus undermines his suitability as sovereign. Through Richard's awareness of the destruction he has brought on himself and his kingdom he implicitly identifies Bolingbroke with Zeus, which seems to suggest that he only removes the King from power to protect England and not to usurp the throne for himself.¹³²

Anthony Taylor has shown that various sources influenced Shakespeare's politicised application of the Phaethon myth to the history of English kings. Most notably, Taylor identifies Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a principal influence due to Shakespeare's use of 'glisten'ing'. In Golding's translation, this word is not applied to a description of Phaethon's radiance, as it is by Shakespeare, but to describe the moment when Phoebus removes his crown, which 'glistred rounde about his heade like cleare and golden streames', before he embraces the son who hopes to 'usurpe' his name (2.54, 48). Following this, Phaethon is blinded by 'the glistening light' of the sun chariot and consequently the earth 'with flaming fire did glistre' (2.231, 320). Taylor charts the usage of the word 'glisten'ing' and its variants to conclude that 'Richard's apparently glamorous epithet for Phaethon, therefore, carries ominous connotations of impending disaster.'¹³³ Furthermore, Taylor notes that the 'unruly jades' Richard partially blames for his downfall are part of a tradition whereby the sun-

¹³² For an alternative interpretation of this myth, see Robert P. Merrix, 'The Phaethon Allusion in *Richard II*: The Search for Identity', *English Literary Renaissance*, 17 (1987), 277-287.

¹³³ Anthony Taylor, 'Melting Earth and Leaping Bulls: Shakespeare's Ovid and Arthur Golding', *Connotations*, 4 (1994/5), 192-206 (p.194).

chariot horses are viewed as defiant subjects who drive their prince to destruction.¹³⁴ This tradition was found in a number of sources, of which Abraham Fraunce's interpretation is perhaps the most significant as it represents Phaethon as a prince who is destroyed by rebellious subjects, symbolised through the 'fierce and outrageous' horses, who are motivated by their 'ambitious conceit.'¹³⁵ Taylor concludes: 'Richard's Phaethon allusion thus reflects the dramatist's awareness of the price that the king, Bolingbroke, and England will have to pay for the surrender of the crown.'¹³⁶ In line with this reading, liability for the conflict England suffers, as a result of the deposition, is placed on both Richard and Bolingbroke.

The impact of Bolingbroke's insurrection is foreshadowed when the King addresses the soil of England upon his return from Ireland: 'Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand / Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs' (III.ii.6-7). The King lowers himself down to the ground to touch the very land over which he governs, which has been damaged through the literal trampling of horses as armed forces gather for battle. Richard calls on the soil to stop his enemies, so that these 'armed soldiers [...] / Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms', perhaps alluding here to the halter that was used to stop the headlong career of horses (III.ii.25-26). By calling on the earth to stop his enemies, Richard acknowledges that he is unable to suppress the rebellion. Richard instead curses his adversaries, hoping that venomous 'spiders' and 'toads [will] lie in their way' and do 'annoyance to the treacherous feet / Which with usurping steps do trample thee' (III.ii.14, 15, 16-17). Richard here identifies his subjects, and perhaps Bolingbroke specifically, as the 'treacherous' horses that are wreaking destruction across his country. As Richard lowers himself down to the ground in this scene, he visually aligns himself with the soil, which conjures the image of his rebelling subjects trampling over his helpless body.

¹³⁴ Taylor, p.194.

¹³⁵ Taylor, p.194.

¹³⁶ Taylor, p.195.

We may note here the similarities between the Phaethon myth and the tragedy of Hippolytus, which Tamburlaine uses to warn his son Amyras of the threat his opponents pose to his reign; like Phaethon, Hippolytus was dragged to his death by horses. In Marlowe's appropriation of the tragedy, the conquered kings are identified as 'proud rebelling jades' who have the potential to destroy Amyras when he ascends to the throne. Similarly, Bolingbroke is identified as one of the 'unruly jades' that cause Richard's ruin, emphasised by the tradition in which the sun-chariot horses were viewed as rebellious subjects. Therefore, when appropriating the Phaethon myth, Shakespeare does not cast his actors into unilaterally defined roles, rather Richard and Bolingbroke represent attributes from the myth's various characters. Richard is both Phoebus, who surrenders his throne willingly, and Phaethon who, unable to control the horses which drive the sun chariot, wreaks havoc and must be stopped by a mightier power. Bolingbroke is assigned three roles: the uncontrollable horse that refuses to be controlled by his sovereign; the Zeus-like figure who brings down the incapable charioteer; and the new Phoebus who takes over the reins of state and must control the horses that drive the chariot (which represent the body politic and potential opponents), to avoid the tragic fate that befell his predecessor. The allusion to the Phaethon myth in *Richard II* therefore encapsulates the play's ambivalence concerning Bolingbroke's tenuous claim to the throne, and whether Richard's deposition was justified.

The ambivalence surrounding Richard's deposition is complicated by the horse imagery used to describe Bolingbroke's triumphant entry into London after having gained the throne in Act Five, Scene Two. Bolingbroke is said to have complete mastery over the horse he rides upon as he escorts Richard to the Tower of London:

the Duke, great Bolingbroke,
Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed
Which his aspiring rider seemed to know,
With slow but stately pace kept on his course,
Whilst all tongues cried, 'God save thee, Bolingbroke!' (V.ii.7-11)

The description of the horse as 'hot and fiery' suggests that it is unruly, which serves to emphasise Bolingbroke's control of the animal that he causes to keep 'a slow but stately pace', while he revels in the adoration of his new 'sworn subjects' (V.ii.39). The 'stately pace' refers to the horse's role in displaying the new King to his people in this public procession.

Bolingbroke's mount is said to 'know' its rider, which aligns with both Whitney and Alciato's emblems in which the horse is conscious of its rider's ability. The image of Bolingbroke mounted upon an unruly horse stresses his capacity to govern a country based solely on his skill, arguably to make his usurpation and tenuous claim to the throne less problematic. There are similarities here to James I's advice for his son to ride a 'courageous and great horse' in order to display his prowess in horsemanship and by extension his suitability to kingship. Likewise, as David Scott Kastan argues, Bolingbroke's 'progress through the city is [...] a pageant which at once confers, clarifies, and celebrates rule.'¹³⁷ Bolingbroke goes further than just displaying his skill on horseback as he is said to engage with the people who are gathered in the streets: 'Bare-headed, lower than his proud steed's neck, / Bespake them thus, "I thank you, countrymen." / And thus still doing, thus he pass'd along' (V.ii.19-21). Bolingbroke reduces the physical distance, and therefore the sense of pre-eminence, that the horse's height creates between himself and his new subjects by lowering himself beneath the animal's neck to speak to them. His procession on horseback portrays him as an ideal ruler by undoing the traditional iconography of the mounted ruler as being superior to their subjects.

However, we are told in *1 Henry IV* that this is a deliberate performance when the King informs Prince Hal, 'I stole all courtesy from heaven, And dress'd myself in such humility / That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts' (*1 Henry IV*, III.ii.50-52). Bolingbroke's procession through London on horseback is purposefully manufactured to present him as the ideal ruler, and his use of a 'hot and fiery steed' is central to this performance. In support of this reading, it is possible that Shakespeare may have elaborated on an account found in Froissart's *Chronicles*

¹³⁷ David Scott Kastan, 'Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 37 (1986), 459-475 (p.470).

which suggests that after Richard surrendered, Bolingbroke ‘ordained incontinent horses to be saddled and brought forth.’¹³⁸ The horses are not mentioned again in *The Chronicles* and their significance is left unexplained. Notably, incontinence was defined as ‘wanting in self-restraint: chiefly with reference to sexual appetite’ in the period.¹³⁹ Shakespeare arguably expanded on Froissart’s ‘incontinent horses’ through the image of Bolingbroke mounted upon a ‘hot and fiery steed’, to suggest this is purely a performance of kingship that aimed to legitimise Richard’s deposition. Moreover, in describing Bolingbroke’s horse as ‘hot and fiery’, Shakespeare also subtly alludes to the sun chariot horses and thus to the new King’s Phaethon-like usurpation of the throne. The image of Bolingbroke astride a great horse as he leads Richard to the Tower may confer his authority as the King of England, but it also provides a reminder of the problematic way in which he gained this title.

Bolingbroke’s celebratory reception in Act Five, Scene Two as he enters London is also contrasted with the disrespectful treatment Richard receives at the hands of his former subjects. York states that ‘No man cried “God save him!” / No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home, / But dust was thrown upon his sacred head; / Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off’ (V.ii.28-31). We know that Richard is on a horse at this point as the Duchess of York asks where he ‘rode’ in the procession (V.ii.22). However, the superiority which was conveyed physically through a mounted individual being above the so-called lower orders on the back of a horse becomes irrelevant in this scene; Richard is positioned below his former subjects who throw dust on him from the windows above.

To extend Richard’s degradation further, in Act Five, Scene Five, the deposed King imagines himself as being ridden by Bolingbroke. Contemplating Barbary’s betrayal, Richard states:

Forgiveness, horse! Why do I rail on thee,
Since thou, created to be aw’d by man,
Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse,

¹³⁸ Froissart, p.464.

¹³⁹ ‘incontinent, adj.1.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/93907>> [accessed 19 November 2014].

And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,
Spurr'd, gall'd and tir'd by jauncing Bolingbroke. (V.v.90-94)

Having lost his throne, Richard is no longer aligned with the noble and majestic horse, which is awed by humans, but its lesser cousin the ass, a labouring animal that was used solely out of necessity and not for coronation processions. According to Edward Topsell, the ass was 'intituled or phrased with many epithets among Poets; as, slow, burthen-bearing, back-bearing, vile, cart-drawing, mill-labouring, sluggish, crooked, vulgar, slow-paced, long-eared, blockish, braying, ydle, deuill-haired, filthy, faddle-bearer, slow-foot, four-foot, vnsauory, and a beast of miserable condition'.¹⁴⁰ The association of the ass with stupidity is most obviously conveyed by Bottom's transformation into one in Act Three, Scene One of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. However, the ass also carries the more positive connotations of repentance, partly due to the emblematic connotations of Christ riding a donkey into Jerusalem in order to convey his humility and meekness (Matthew 21.1-11). Topsell states, 'Apuleius in his eleuen books of his golden Asses, taketh that beast for an Emblem, to note the manners of mankind; how some by youthfull pleasures become beasts, and afterward by timely repentant old-age, are reformed men againe'.¹⁴¹ The final metamorphosis Richard undergoes into an ass may suggest that he accepts responsibility for indulging his passions and subsequently for his deposition. Recognising this as the 'burthen' he must bear, Richard forgives Barbary, and by extension his subjects, for supporting Bolingbroke as their new sovereign (V.v.93). Shakespeare arguably alludes here to Golding's moralizing of the Phaethon myth:

The end whereof is miserie, and bringeth at the last
Repentance when it is too late that all redresse is past.
And how the weaknesse and that want of wit in magistrate
Counfoundeth both his commone weale and eeke his own estate. (Epistle 73-76)

Although Richard repents his mistakes, he is too late; his failure to sufficiently govern England has disastrous consequence for his subjects.

¹⁴⁰ Topsell, *Beastes* (1607), sig.C3^v-C4^r.

¹⁴¹ Topsell, *Beastes* (1607), sig.C4^r.

While Richard may be reduced to an ass, the image of ‘jauncing Bolingbroke’ having ‘Spurr’d, gall’d and tir’d’ Richard II does not reflect positively on the new King. The description of Bolingbroke as ‘jauncing’ may come from John Studley’s description of Phaethon losing control of the sun-chariot in his translation of *Hercules Oetaeus*:

While he from wonted ways his Iades doth iaunce.
 Amonge straunge stares they pricking forward prauunce,
 Enforcing them with Phoebus flames to frye,
 Whose roaming wheelles refuse the beaten rutt:
 Thus both himselfe, and all the Crustall skye
 In perilof the soulthring fyre he put.
 So hawty myndes that clymbe aboue their skill,
 Do worke their owne decay, and others yll.¹⁴²

Taylor argues that Richard’s description of those who rebelled against his rule as ‘jades’ in Act Three, Scene Three is taken from this text, however, he overlooks the fact that Studley’s description of the sun-chariot horses as ‘jaunc[ing]’ and wreaking mayhem on all that lay in their path may also have influenced the description of Bolingbroke in Act Five, Scene Five.¹⁴³ By describing Bolingbroke as ‘jauncing’, Shakespeare arguably reminds us that he is one of the ‘unruly jades’ Richard failed to control and is therefore partially to blame for the civil strife that ensues as a result of Richard’s deposition. Although Bolingbroke has taken over the reins of state at this point in the play, he continues to be indirectly represented as the rebellious horse who orchestrated his King’s downfall.

Bolingbroke’s treatment of Richard recalls the oppressive taming methods that were criticized in horsemanship manuals. As we have seen, Marlowe used this idea to full effect in Act Four, Scene Three of *2 Tamburlaine* with the conqueror entering the stage on his king-drawn chariot. While Shakespeare does not use such a literal metaphor as Marlowe, the imagery of Richard being physically restrained and ridden by Bolingbroke, as one would a horse or in this instance an ass, suggests an element of tyranny in the new monarch. Many of the studies of Marlowe’s

¹⁴² Seneca, *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, trans. and ed. by Thomas Newton (London, 1581), sig.Dd^r.

¹⁴³ Taylor, pp.194-195.

influence on Shakespeare have drawn comparisons between the *Tamburlaine* plays and *Henry V* due to the numerous similarities between the two rulers. Robert A. Logan suggests that in formulating King Henry V Shakespeare demonstrates ‘an easy reliance on the Tamburlainian prototype’, especially due to Henry’s overreaching ambition.¹⁴⁴ James Shapiro similarly argues that Henry V ‘offers a kind of *Tamburlaine Part III*’, suggesting that the play represents the events which follow the burial of the ruler.¹⁴⁵ Henry V perhaps embodies all of the qualities Tamburlaine hoped his heir would possess and, in line with this reading, it is Henry IV who most truly resembles Tamburlaine. In relation to this argument, in Samuel Daniel’s poem, *The First Fowre Bookes of the Ciuile Wars Betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and York* (1595), Richard II warns that Bolingbroke will control the liberty of the people through the symbolically loaded language of horsemanship:

And with a harder hand and streighter raine
Doth curbe that loosenes he did finde before,
Doubting th’ occasion like might serue againe,
His owne example makes him feare the more.¹⁴⁶

Daniel’s poem suggests that Bolingbroke’s rebellion and subsequent deposition of Richard II made him fearful of his subjects, causing him to rule in a harsh manner in order to preserve his throne. The poem identifies Henry IV as a poor horseman according to the early modern manuals which encouraged a soft hand and gentle persuasion when taming horses. In consequence, Daniel’s purposeful use of ‘raine’ and ‘curb’ conjures the imagery of Bolingbroke reducing his subjects to that of horses to be ridden and controlled by him, just as he is imagined to mount and master Richard in Shakespeare’s play. Related to this reading, after Bolingbroke’s mastery of the ‘hot fiery steed’ is recounted, the Duke of Aumerle’s ‘dark conspiracy’ to ‘kill the king at Oxford’ is discovered. (V.ii.96, 99). The play consequently ends with the threat of ‘rebels’ and a list of executions that have taken place to secure Henry IV’s new throne (V.vi.2).

¹⁴⁴ Logan, p.144.

¹⁴⁵ James Shapiro, “‘*Tamburlaine: Henry V*’ as Shakespeare’s Belated Armada Play”, *Criticism*, 31 (1989), 351-366 (p.354).

¹⁴⁶ Samuel Daniel, *The First Fowre Bookes of the Ciuile Wars Betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and York* (London, 1595), sig.G4^v.

It appears that Bolingbroke does not sit so easily in the saddle of state as his recounted performance astride the 'hot and fiery steed' in Act Five, Scene Two suggests.

In *Richard II*, Henry Bolingbroke is seemingly represented as an ideal ruler through his ability to control the unruly horse he rides upon as he escorts Richard II to the Tower and, moreover, through Richard's favoured horse Barbary willingly accepting Bolingbroke as his new rider in recognition of the new monarch's skill and authority. This striking imagery is contrasted with the metaphor of Richard as Phaethon, unable to control those he is meant to command, which arguably justifies his deposition. However, Shakespeare also draws parallels between Bolingbroke and the 'unruly jades' that carry Phaethon away, wreaking havoc on earth as a result of their disobedience. In this figuration, Bolingbroke is the rebellious subject who is partially responsible for the civil war that caused political strife in England until the early sixteenth century. Furthermore, as Richard is subsequently imprisoned and reduced to an ass, 'Spurr'd, gall'd and tir'd by jauncing Bolingbroke', the positive associations made between horsemanship and governance are subverted to suggest the new monarch's potential for tyranny; this imagery is comparable to the cruelty conveyed through the spectacle of Tamburlaine driving his king-drawn chariot. Like Tamburlaine, Bolingbroke faces opposition due to the circumstance in which he took power; he consequently sits upon an insecure throne and is forced to reign with harsh methods in order to command the obedience of his subjects. The horse imagery used in *Richard II*, to reflect on the concepts of governance and obedience, is developed in *1* and *2 Henry IV* to represent the instability of the new monarch's rule, the questionable methods he applies to control his unruly subjects and the uncertainty surrounding the suitability of his heir, Prince Hal, who risks becoming a second Phaethon.

2.5 'And witch the world with noble horsemanship': Horses and the Performance of Sovereignty in *1* and *2 Henry IV*

From the moment Henry IV takes power, his reign is opposed by rebellious factions. The instability of the new King's rule is suggested in the *Henry IV* plays through allusions to

Bolingbroke, on horseback, leading Richard in triumph through the streets of London. In Act Three, Scene Two of *1 Henry IV*, the King reflects on Richard's deposition stating that it was because of the former monarch's familiarity with the common people that he was able to 'pluck allegiance from men's hearts, / Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths, / Even in the presence of the crowned king' (III.ii.52-54). This implicitly refers to Act Five, Scene Two of *Richard II* when Henry led the deposed King to the Tower of London, 'Whilst all tongues cried, "God save thee, Bolingbroke!"' (V.ii.7-11). This line acknowledges that Henry IV became King by popular election, consequently providing the new dynasty with a constitutional basis. However, as his rule is based on the people's acceptance of him as their monarch, it is insecure due to the threat of counter-rebellions. Henry IV draws this comparison to Richard's reign to warn Prince Hal that his licentious behaviour may cost him his inheritance.

A second reference to Bolingbroke's triumphant progress through London occurs in *2 Henry IV* when the Archbishop of York discusses the rebels' 'cause' against the King and the allegiance of the populace (I.iii.1). The Archbishop asks:

What trust is in these times?
 They that, when Richard liv'd would have him die
 Are now become enamour'd on his grave.
 Thou, that threw'st dust upon his goodly head,
 When through proud London he came sighing on
 After th'admirèd heels of Bolingbroke,
 Cry'st now: 'O Earth, yield us that King again,
 And take thou this!' O thoughts of men accurs'd! (I.iii.100-107)

This speech directly refers to Act Five, Scene Two of *Richard II*, however, Shakespeare does not re-use the image of Henry IV 'Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed' to reflect on the new King's acquisition of power or his ability to govern, but rather to convey his tenuous grasp of the crown (V.ii.8).

Despite the suppression of the counter-rebellion at the end of *1 Henry IV*, opposition to the King's rule continues and the threat this poses to the country is conveyed through allusions to the Phaethon myth. For example, Glendower refers to the myth in his description of the time at

which the rebels will launch their attack as being ‘The hour before the heavenly-harness’d team / Begins his golden progress in the east’ (III.i.214-215). While Glendower alludes to Phoebus’ chariot to represent the sunrise, the image also signifies the throne of England, which the rebels hope to usurp; however, like Phaethon, they are fated to fail. The connection between the Phaethon myth and rebellion continues in 2 *Henry IV*. Awaiting news of the battle, Northumberland reflects on the political turmoil plaguing England: ‘The times are wild; contention, like a horse / Full of high feeding, madly hath broke loose, / And bears down all before him’ (I.i.9-11). Watson argues that the uncontrollable horse which breaks free of its tether represents two interconnected concepts: ‘the state, which lacks the clear control of any horseman and runs dangerously at liberty, and the passionate anger which, in breaking from the normal bounds of civil behaviour, is both cause and effect of the unresolved political conflict.’¹⁴⁷ In line with Watson’s reading, Northumberland acknowledges the destructive force of the rebellious faction, of which he plays a crucial part. The ‘unruly jades’ that Richard was unable to ‘manage’ rear their ugly heads again during Henry IV’s rule, albeit in entirely new guises (*Richard II* III.iii.178). Henry IV is forced to suppress the rebels to preserve his throne.

When a horse is considered to be a jade many of the horsemanship manuals encourage keepers to destroy them. For example, in *The Perfection of Horsemanship*, Nicholas Morgan identifies jades as a threat to humans, and specifically to kings:

Iades are naturally mischeuous & dangerous to man, wherof I will giue some examples, as Fulko the fift king of Ierusalem after he had raigned eleuen yeares, was by a mischeuous Iade strooken in the hinder part of the head, whereof he presently dyed: Bellat the King of the Pauuonians, Phillip sonne of Lodowick, Crassus, Seleucus, Calinisius, and many others by euill natured horses were slaine.¹⁴⁸

Although Morgan suggests that horses must be used in ‘gentle dealing, so as hee may hope for rest and quietnesse, whereby hee will bee readye to doe whatsoeuer you will’, he states that ‘if hee bee a ramadge Iade, or of euill disposition by Nature, for my owne part I esteeme him not

¹⁴⁷ Watson, p.288.

¹⁴⁸ Morgan, sig.F^v.

of any worth to be kept'.¹⁴⁹ According to Morgan, poor horsemanship is only criticised when applied to perfect horses; jades do not deserve to be treated with respect and should be discarded as their natures cannot be changed. As the governing of horses was connected to ruling over people, this arguably suggests that it is necessary to dispatch with rebellious subjects that threaten the peace of a country, just as it is necessary to destroy horses that refuse to be tamed.

In 2 *Henry IV*, the Earl of Northumberland acknowledges the necessity of subduing the dangerous liberty of rebels (albeit referring here to the questionable legitimacy of King Henry IV's rule), when he declares:

Let order die!
And let this world no longer be a stage
To feed contention in a ling'ring act;
But let one spirit of the first-born Cain
Reign in all bosoms, that each heart being set
On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,
And darkness be the burier of the dead! (I.i.154-160)

In this metatheatrical speech, Northumberland extends the metaphor of 'contention' as a wild horse through his call for the spirit of Cain to 'Reign in all bosoms' and set the people on a path of murderous rebellion against Henry IV, leading to absolute obliteration of the human race. Shakespeare puns here on 'reign' and 'rein' to suggest that without a ruler the people will be driven to destruction, which recalls James I's warning that a commonwealth that overthrows its ruler is as dangerous as an ungoverned horse.

Henry IV, however, is capable of subduing this wild horse. Notably, Watson discusses the numerous horsemen which are described frantically passing one another in Act One, Scene One to report news of the battle, arguing that it reflects the civil conflict. Although this interpretation is convincing, it does not take into account how one particular example of poor horsemanship

¹⁴⁹ Morgan, sig.N4^r.

recounted in this scene reflects on the methods that Henry IV uses to subdue his enemies. Delivering news of the battle, Travers informs Northumberland that he met a gentleman on the road racing to Chester who informed him that Harry Percy had died in the battle, consequently confirming Northumberland's worst fears that his son is dead and Henry IV's opponents will be punished for their rebellion. The gentleman is described as 'spurring hard', 'forespent with speed' and his horse is 'bloodied' by the efforts of its rider (I.i.36, 37, 38). As he departs from Travers the gentleman is said to have 'struck his armed heels / Against the panting sides of his poor jade / Up to the rowel-head; and starting so, / He seem'd in running to devour the way' (I.i.44-47). While this imagery serves to convey the speed at which the gentleman is travelling and, by extension, the urgency of the news he is carrying, the brutality of burying the spurs into the horse's side and the sympathetic representation of the 'poor jade' recalls the dehumanizing fate Richard suffered, 'spurr'd, gall'd and tir'd by jauncing Bolingbroke' (*Richard II* V.v.94). Henry IV's enemies eventually suffer the same fate as the deposed King; the gentleman who drives his spurs into the side of his horse not only carries the news of Henry's triumph but also prefigures the punishment Henry IV's adversaries suffer as a result of their rebellion. Horsemanship is again used by Shakespeare to portray the methods a ruler employs to re-establish their power.

While Henry IV does take a 'bloody course', he does not 'let order die' but subdues those who oppose him to restore civic stability, which Shakespeare conveys through the symbolically loaded imagery of horsemanship. Upon hearing the news of his enemies' defeat, Henry IV, lying on his death bed states: 'everything lies level to our wish; / Only we want a little personal strength, / And pause us till these rebels now afoot / Come underneath the yoke of government' (IV.iii.7-10). The King reflects that while not all the rebels have not been caught, they will be made obedient to his rule, just as oxen and horses forcibly are when yoked to a cart or chariot. Through his merciless and 'bloody' punishments of Hastings and the Archbishop of York, Henry IV brings an end to civil strife and secures the throne for his heir, Prince Hal.

Throughout the *Henry IV* plays the King suggests that his efforts may be wasted on Prince Hal, who threatens to become another Phaethon. Notably, the first mention of Prince Hal in *Richard II* includes Hotspur's account of the Prince's self-proclaimed ability to 'unhorse the lustiest challenger' (V.iii.19). Despite Hal being presented as having, like his father, the ability to defeat his opponents, Henry IV criticises his son's wanton nature in this scene. There is a notable comparison here to Tamburlaine's criticism of his sons in Act One, Scene Three of 2 *Tamburlaine*, when the conqueror suggests his sons do not deserve to inherit his throne because of their effeminate natures. Tamburlaine's fears are alleviated by his wife's assurances of Celebinus's prowess in the joust and manège, which suggests that skill in horsemanship is fundamentally aligned with the ability to govern subjects. In comparison, while Prince Hal is said to excel in the joust, he does not take the symbolic importance of this sport seriously. Indeed, 'unhorse' is used here as a pun on 'whores', thus imbuing the account with Hal's indulgence of his various passions rather than his self-restraint. Furthermore, 'lustiest challenger' alludes to the epitaph for Phaethon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'Here lies the lusty *Phaethon* which tooke in hand to guide / His fathers Chariot' (2.413-214). Like Phaethon, Hal disappoints his father through his lack of restraint and threatens the security of the country. Consequently, Henry IV's view of his son as a 'young wanton, and effeminate boy' is confirmed by Hotspur's account of Hal's prowess on horseback (*Richard II* V.iii.10).

Prince Hal's portrayal as a second Phaethon is also apparent in Act Three, Scene Two of *I Henry IV*. Due to Prince Hal's lack of self-restraint and ignobility, Henry states he will not confide in his son because he is his 'nearest and dearest enemy' (III.ii.123). In relation to this, early modern authors politicised the Phaethon myth by portraying rulers as Phoebus and rebels as his usurping son.¹⁵⁰ Shakespeare comparably casts Prince Hal in the role of Phaethon by suggesting he is his father's opponent. Furthermore, King Henry IV discusses the impact such an heir has on the country, declaring 'The hope and expectation of thy time / Is ruin'd, and the

¹⁵⁰ Watson, p.283.

soul of every man / Prophetically do forethink thy fall' (III.ii.36-38). Henry predicts that his son will suffer a Phaethon-like demise, viewing him as being, like Richard II, doomed to fall from power. Notably, the King uses Richard's deposition to warn his son: 'As thou art to this hour was Richard then / When I from France set foot at Ravenspurgh, / And even as I was then is Percy now' (III.ii.94-96). Through drawing a comparison between his son and Richard, and by extension to Phaethon, Henry IV highlights the instability of his rule due to his lack of a suitable heir. Audiences may have seen this as a reflection on the succession crisis and the anxiety caused by the uncertainty of who would inherit the throne after Elizabeth I inevitably died.

In Act Three, Scene Two, Henry IV acknowledges that Hotspur is a threat to Hal's inheritance and central to this is his rival's aptitude for horsemanship. Henry IV indirectly praises Hotspur's military abilities through horsemanship terminology when he informs Prince Hal:

He doth fill fields with harness in the realm,
Turns head against the lion's armed jaws,
And being no more in debt to years than thou,
Leads ancient lords and reverend bishops on
To bloody battles, and to bruising arms. (III.ii.101-105)

The description of Hotspur filling fields with 'harness in the realm' can be read as Hotspur recruiting ready soldiers, with 'harness' being defined as the body armour of a soldier.

However, as 'harness' can also refer to the defensive equipment used by an armoured horseman, for both horse and rider, an alternative interpretation is that Hotspur is reigning over the realm, recalling the image of the ideal governor as a skilled horseman.¹⁵¹ In line with this reading, Henry IV acknowledges that Hotspur is a natural leader who can lead an army against the King – here represented by the lion, the monarch's heraldic animal – just as easily as he can 'turn' the horses he rides, thereby conveying the willing obedience of those he commands.

While the imagery invoked by the 'lion's armed jaws' conveys the power wielded by Henry IV,

¹⁵¹ 'harness, n2.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/84310>> [accessed 2 October 2015].

this serves only to emphasise Hotspur's courage and the command he has over those who follow him. Henry IV suggests that unless Hal is able to defeat Hotspur, he will suffer a worse fate than Richard, who became the horse 'Spurr'd, gall'd, and tir'd by jauncing Bolingbroke', as he will be reduced to a fawning spaniel who will 'dog [Hotspur's] heels and curtsy at his frowns' (*Richard II*, V.v.94; *1 Henry IV*, III.ii.127). The contrast between the high status of horses and the generally low opinion of dogs in the period emphasises Henry IV's lack of faith in his son's ability to govern.

Indeed, Hal is presented as a raucous youth who rebels against his father's attempts to control him. Central to Prince Hal's negative portrayal is his view and usage of horsemanship. As we have seen in *Richard II*, Hal does not take horsemanship as a symbol of nobility seriously, punning on it to make a sexual innuendo. In contrast, Hotspur is seemingly presented as the archetypal chivalric knight, who uses his prowess in horsemanship for military pursuits. In relation to this juxtaposition, it is largely overlooked that the second act of *1 Henry IV* is dominated by references to horses, with scenes put in direct contrast with one another to highlight the differences between Prince Hal and his rival for the throne.

Comparable to Act Three, Scene Two of *Woodstock*, the second act of *1 Henry IV* opens with a discussion between two carriers about the poor treatment of horses due to the loss of the ostler of the inn they are visiting:

1 CARRIER I prithee, Tom, beat Cut's saddle, put a few flocks in the point; poor jade is wrung in the withers, out of all cess.

Enter another Carrier.

2 CARRIER Peas and beans are as dank here as a dog, and that is the next way to give poor jades the bots: this house is turned upside down since Robin Ostler died.

1 CARRIER Poor fellow never joyed since the price of oats rose, it was the death of him.

(II.i.5-12)

Like Plain Thomas's concern for the famished horse in *Woodstock*, the carriers' care for Cut provides more than an insight into animal welfare in the period. Notably, Cut is one of two named horses in the tetralogy (the second being Richard II's Barbary), and through their comparison, Flaherty suggests that '[t]hey exemplify the "high" and the "low" of the English national myth; the carrier's horse and the king's horse reveal the weaknesses and the strengths of England's political and economic climate.'¹⁵² As in *Woodstock*, the poor state of Cut is appropriated to signify economic hardship, which in the *Henry IV* plays is caused by the political upheaval following Richard's deposition, Henry IV's usurpation of power, and the subsequent civil war. The equine trope is therefore used to reflect on the wider impact Henry IV's usurpation has on both his human and non-human subjects. Furthermore, Act Two, Scene One is followed by two scenes which reflect on Prince Hal and Hotspur's horsemanship, which suggests that the exchange between the carriers has wider implications for the representation of governance and who out of the two Harrys, if at all, is better suited for kingship.

In Act Two, Scene Two of *1 Henry IV*, Prince Hal and Poins play a trick on Falstaff, informing the audience that they have 'removed Falstaff's horse' (II.ii.1-2). Prince Hal mocks Falstaff for the loss of his horse by again punning on equine terminology to inform the knight, 'thou art not colted, thou art uncolted' (II.ii.38-39). Hal is represented as unhorsing his opponents, however, in a much more comical vein than that used to portray his father's deposition of Richard II. It is because Hal fails to take the association between mastering a horse and governing a country seriously that he risks becoming Falstaff's groom:

FALSTAFF	I prithee, good Prince Hal, help me to my horse, good king's son.
PRINCE	Out, ye rogue, shall I be your ostler? (II.ii.40-42)

¹⁵² Flaherty, p.314

Falstaff's request for Harry to help him to his horse possibly represents his hope that the Prince will help the knight to a position of influence once he becomes king. Watson argues that this scene therefore foreshadows Hal's eventual refusal to give Falstaff a prominent position once he ascends to the throne; Falstaff is, after all, a 'horse-back-breaker' and this does not only refer to his weight but the impact he would have on England if given a position of political influence (II.iv.239).¹⁵³ More significantly, Hal rejects the role of 'ostler' because he identifies this as a position beneath his rank. Notably, John James Elson has identified verbal parallels between this scene and Act Three, Scene Two of *Woodstock*, in which Cheney, upon finding Woodstock with the spruce courtier's horse, states: 'This is somewhat too coarse your grace should be an ostler to this fellow' (*Woodstock* III.ii.181-182).¹⁵⁴ As has been discussed, Woodstock's willingness to perform the role of 'ostler' portrays his willingness to care for the state. In contrast, Prince Hal's rejection of the role of 'ostler' arguably represents his rejection of his responsibilities as heir to the throne. The exchange therefore reflects on the negative impact Hal would have on England if he were to inherit the throne at this point in the play.

Notably, when planning to rob Falstaff, Bardolph, Peto and Gadshill in Act One, Scene Two, Hal informs Poins that they need to disguise themselves, declaring 'they will know us by our horses, by our habits, and by every other appointment to be ourselves,' (I.ii.170-172). While Hal's statement expresses concern that their mounts will quite literally reveal their identities, the line also acknowledges that horses, and the manner in which they are ridden, treated and used, can reveal more than just the social status of their owners. In line with this reading, Hal's misuse of horses to rob and play tricks on his friends, opposed to conveying his nobility in the manège or in battle, indicates his inability to rule.

¹⁵³ Watson, pp.293-294.

¹⁵⁴ John James Elson, 'The Non-Shakespearean *Richard II* and Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I*', *Studies in Philology*, 32 (1935), 177-188 (p.186).

In contrast to Hal, Hotspur is represented as an apt horseman who is eager to go to battle in order to remove Henry IV from the English throne. However, his prowess on horseback does not necessarily mean that Hotspur is suited for kingship. In Act Two, Scene Three he declares his plan to put the rebellion into action that evening, having received a letter from a nobleman refusing to support their cause. Hotspur calls for a horse, stating 'That roan shall be my throne' (II.iii.70). This line arguably alludes to Richard's roan Barbary, and the horse's symbolic status as the seat of England. Like Richard, Hotspur invests too much on the back of his horse as he races to join the counter-rebels. Lady Percy, unaware of her husband's preoccupation with the rebellion, questions her husband:

LADY PERCY	What is it carries you away?
HOTSPUR	Why, my horse, my love, my horse.
LADY PERCY	Out, you mad-headed ape! A weasel hath not such a deal of spleen As you are toss'd with.

(II.iii.75-76)

Hotspur represents himself as being carried away by his horse which suggests that, according to the Platonic figuration of the charioteer, he is unable to control his passions. Hotspur fulfils the first, but not the second, part of the charioteer equation; he is therefore fated to fail. Indeed, Hotspur's name plays upon his poor horsemanship, suggesting that he rides his horse in a rash manner and with the excessive use of spurs. Hotspur's lack of self-restraint indicates that he is also not suited to govern.

Hotspur and Prince Harry's poor horsemanship portrays them both as unworthy claimants to the throne. While Hotspur takes the horse seriously as a symbol of the English throne, he rides his own mount in a rash manner in his eagerness for power. The audience witness Hotspur's impulsive eagerness to be on his horse and away to war in the proceeding scene, indicating his lack of self-restraint. In contrast, Prince Hal does not take the connection between the horse and governance seriously. Hal is seen to torment Falstaff by stealing his horse, perhaps as a humorous imitation of his father's unhorsing of Richard II. Furthermore, Hal's refusal to be

Falstaff's ostler in this scene arguably conveys his refusal to be the keeper of the state, with the horse representing England as a whole. Therefore, in *1 Henry IV* neither Hal nor Hotspur are presented as ideal candidates for kingship.

Toward the end of *1 Henry IV*, Hal vows to reform after Henry IV warns him that he risks losing his inheritance to Hotspur. Hal declares 'I will redeem all this on Percy's head, / And in the closing of some glorious day / Be bold to tell you that I am your son' (III.ii.132-134). There are close echoes here to Phaethon's appeals to Phoebus to acknowledge his paternity in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'O Father *Phoebus*, (if I may usurper that name of right [...]) / Some sign apparant graunt whereby I may be knowne thy Sonne' (*Metamorphoses* 2.48-51). Through this subtle allusion to the Phaethon myth, Hal, despite his vow, remains firmly in the role of the rebellious son who threatens to destroy his father's kingdom.

Nonetheless, Hal fulfils his promise that he will defeat Henry IV's enemies and the audience is informed of his spectacular display of martial prowess:

All furnish'd, all in arms,
All plum'd like estridges that with the wind
Bated, like eagles having lately bath'd,
Glittering in golden coats like images,
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.
I saw young Harry with his beaver on,
His cushees on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat
As if an angel dropped down from the clouds
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
And witch the world with noble horsemanship. (IV.i.97-110)

Hal is not only presented as the conquering hero but as performing the role of the dutiful Prince. The description of Hal and the men he leads as 'estridentes' (found in both the quarto and folio texts), is possibly a misprinting of 'ostriches', alluding to the feathers used on soldiers' helmets (we may recall here the portrait Essex and the elaborate plumes featured on both the Earl's helmet and his horse's armoured headpiece). It may also allude to Hal's responsibility as heir to

the throne, as three ostrich feathers are found in the emblem of the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the motto '*Ich Dien*', meaning, 'I serve'. However, 'estridges' arguably refers to the short-winged goshawks used in falconry, with 'plum'd' alluding to the feathers commonly found on falconry hoods, which raptors wore until released in the hunt. The allusion to this noble sport is extended by the soldiers' description as 'eagles'. As will be discussed in the next chapter, falconry was imbued with the interconnecting concepts of sovereignty and obedience in early modern drama. The representation of Hal and his army as hawks suggests they have been successfully tamed by their master and obediently pursue their prey on his command. The horse and hawk imagery collides in Vernon's description of Prince Hal, with Henry's representation as the 'feather'd mercury' the winged messenger, riding the 'fiery Pegasus'. Hal is viewed as having control of himself, his army and his 'fiery' horse, which arguably alludes to the 'hot and fiery steed' his father rode after deposing Richard. The formerly licentious Prince Hal is seen to have reformed his ways and taken command of an army filled with equally unruly youths, suitably described as 'Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls'.

There is, however, uncertainty concerning the permanence of Hal's reform, largely because the description of Hal's horse as 'Pegasus' implicitly alludes to the tragic fate of the mythical creature's rider Bellerophon, the illegitimate son of Poseidon who aspires above his hierarchical status and attempts to fly to Olympus. In response to his rider's misguided attempt to fly to Olympus, Pegasus throws Bellerophon from his back, making him, as J. M. Steadman argues, 'a conventional symbol for ambition and overweening arrogance.'¹⁵⁵ Flaherty argues that due to the similarities between this tale and the Phaethon myth, Shakespeare excises all references to Bellerophon in the play and instead 'casts Hal in the mixed metaphor of a Christian angel on a Pagan horse.'¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there is arguably a silent reference to Bellerophon in the

¹⁵⁵ J. M. Steadman, 'Perseus upon Pegasus and Ovid Moralized', *The Review of English Studies*, 9 (1958), 407-410 (p.409). See also Mary Lascelles, 'The Rider on the Winged Horse', in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies, Presented to Frank Percy Wilson in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp.173-198.

¹⁵⁶ Flaherty, p.318.

character of Hal, who, up until the point in the play, has been the epitome of presumptuous overconfidence. The indirect reference to Bellerophon arguably indicates that Prince Hal has not changed. His sense of pride is furthered through the suggestion that this spectacle is only a performance, as Hal is said to ‘witch the world with noble horsemanship’, which implies an illusion rather than a true transformation. If the description of the soldiers as ‘estriges’ also subtly alludes to them as ostriches, this may indicate that Hal is only performing the role of a prince. Notably, an epigram in Whitney’s *A Choice of Emblems* compares, ‘Hippocrites, that make so great a showe’, but ‘with out substance goe’, to ‘the Ostriche faire, / Whoe spreades her winges, yet seldome tries the aire.’¹⁵⁷ Hal and his soldiers are said to ‘bate, like eagles’, but perhaps they are ‘dissemblers founde’, and remain firmly grounded like flightless ostriches.¹⁵⁸

Despite Prince Hal’s spectacular display on horseback and triumphant victory, at the end of 2 *Henry IV* he continues to be viewed by his father as a licentious youth who threatens the destruction of England. On his deathbed, Henry IV predicts:

For when his headstrong riot hath no curb,
When rage and hot blood are his counsellors,
When means and lavish manners meet together,
O, with what wings shall his affections fly
Towards fronting peril and opposed decay! (IV.iv.62-66)

Again, the image of the unrestrained horse and hawk are conflated in the figuration of Prince Hal’s rebellious nature through Henry IV’s suggestion that Prince Hal will be consumed by the unrestrained indulgence of his passions. The King’s second rebuke occurs after he believes Prince Hal has, Phaethon-like, usurped his crown:

For the fifth Harry from curb’d licence plucks
The muzzle of restraint, and the wild dog
Shall flesh his tooth on every innocent.
O my poor kingdom, sick with civil blows!
When that my care could not withhold thy riots,
What wilt thou do when riot is thy care?
O thou wilt be a wilderness again,
Peopled with wolves, thy old inhabitants! (IV.v.130-137)

¹⁵⁷ Whitney, sig.G2^r.

¹⁵⁸ Whitney, sig.G2^r.

Conflating the image of the uncontrollable horse with that of a ravenous dog, Henry IV expresses his fear that Hal will tyrannically feed on his innocent subjects and bring uncivilized wildness to the country when he ascends to the throne — symbolised here through wolves returning to England. In his father's eyes, Hal is far removed from the ideal ruler.

Hal corrects his father's lack of faith in him when he declares he took the crown believing his father had died. Apostrophizing the crown, Hal reproaches it for having 'fed upon the body of my father' (IV.v.159). Hal reverses Henry IV's depiction of him as an insatiable 'wild dog', by accusing the crown of consuming his father. It is at this point that Hal realises the crown is a burden he must bear and willingly accepts this role, informing his father:

You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it to me;
Then plain and right must my possession be,
Which I with more than with common pain
'Gainst all the world will rightfully maintain. (IV.v.221-224)

Hal's true transformation occurs not through his mastery of 'noble horsemanship' but through his acknowledgment that the crown is a great responsibility, rather than a means for indulging his various lusts. As he declares in *Henry V*, the king 'must bear all' (IV.i.229). The ideal ruler is one who not only skilfully commands their subjects, in a comparable manner to an apt horseman, but one who also serves and protects the commonwealth, as an ostler does the horses under their care.

Upon hearing that Prince Hal has been crowned King in Act Five, Scene Two of *2 Henry IV*, Falstaff rushes to London, exclaiming: 'Let us take any man's horses — the laws of England are at my commandment' (V.iii.135-137). Watson argues that Falstaff's statement connects 'equestrian theft with a political coup'.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, perhaps, Falstaff's statement suggests a presumption that Hal's reign will be defined, as his father wrongly predicted, by an abuse of

¹⁵⁹ Watson, p.296.

power. Central to Hal's transformation is his rejection of Falstaff and his licentious ways. 2 *Henry IV* closes with Prince Hal's transformation from the rebellious jade who torments his father into the idealised governor and keeper of the state. The Prince's transformation is cemented by his declaration to the Chief Justice: 'My father is gone wild into his grave, / For in his tomb lie my affections' (V.ii.123-124). Hal claims that he has buried his 'wild' horse-like passions with his father, and will rule with 'formal majesty' (V.ii.133).

However, Prince Hal's alternative education under the tutelage of the centaur-like Falstaff is arguably what prepares him for kingship as it teaches him how to govern himself and his subjects. As Douglas Stewart has persuasively argued, Falstaff is modelled on Chiron, 'as a tutor to the fledgling hero on the condition of ordinary mankind.'¹⁶⁰ This recalls Machiavelli's observation in *The Prince* that 'Achilles and many others of those ancient Princes were intrusted to *Chiron* the Centaure', as having a teacher 'that was halfe a beast and halfe a man [...] was needfull for a Prince, to understand how to make his advantage of the one and other nature, because neither could subsist without the other.'¹⁶¹ Falstaff is unsuited for governance himself, but he gives Hal an important lesson in understanding the commonwealth that he must govern by, as Stewart observes, 'letting his friend see just how weak and self-indulgent ordinary men are without feeling any embarrassment over it.'¹⁶² Hal's former 'wild days' under Falstaff's influence prepare him for kingship as it helps him to understand the subjects that he governs. The rider/monarch cannot rule harmoniously unless they fully understand the horse/subjects under their governance.

The equine trope therefore has multiple applications in the *Henry IV* plays. While the horse imagery continues to reflect the power of monarchs and their ability to govern, the motif is more overtly connected to concepts of obedience and the arguably oppressive treatment of

¹⁶⁰ Douglas J. Stewart, 'Falstaff the Centaur', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 28.1 (1977), 5-21 (p.17).

¹⁶¹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicholas Machiavel's Prince*, trans. by Edward Dacres (London, 1640), sig.G8^v.

¹⁶² Stewart, p.19.

rebellious subjects. However, there is a sense that, in the world of the play, such actions are necessary during times of political strife. While Henry IV's bloody methods are arguably tyrannical, he defeats the counter-rebellion, restores civic order, and secures the throne for his heir. Through Shakespeare's implied comparisons between Hal, Richard II and Phaethon, the Prince of Wales represents the threat of a ruler who is governed by his passions. According to the Platonic figuration of the charioteer, Hal is initially unsuited for governance due to his lack of self-restraint. Hal is contrasted with Harry Percy, suitably nicknamed Hotspur, who is seemingly represented as the perfect horseman. However, Percy's prowess on horseback does not necessarily equate with an ability to govern a country. Indeed, Hotspur's investment in his horse as his 'throne' and his eagerness to confront Prince Hal in a mounted duel leads to his downfall. While Hal's reform is generally indicated by Vernon's account of the Prince's 'noble horsemanship' at the end of *I Henry IV*, his true transformation occurs when he acknowledges that the crown is a burden he must bear 'like an ass', rather than a horse he can ride for his own amusement. Hal's transformation into a model ruler occurs not through his mastery of 'noble horsemanship' but through his acknowledgment that the ideal ruler is one who has complete mastery over the self and who serves, protects, and cares for their state, as an ostler does a horse. In the end, Hal does 'unhorse the lustiest challenger', by gaining control over his own Phaethon-like nature and taking responsibility for his duties as King.

2.6 Henry V and the Dauphin's 'prince of palfreys'

In *Henry V*, the idea that being an accomplished rider equates with being a capable ruler is more overtly questioned, and even mocked, largely through the Dauphin's overblown and comic praise for his 'prince of palfreys' in Act Three, Scene Seven (III.vii.27). Boehrer connects this scene to the wider social devaluation of the horse as a military tool in the late sixteenth century and argues that, 'the horse itself, rendered increasingly irrelevant on the battlefield, comes instead to serve — and hence to signify — as a beast of sport, luxury, and social display'.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Boehrer, 'Shakespeare and the Social Devaluation of the Horse', p.97.

Perhaps what Boehrer also identifies in *Henry V* is the undermining of the symbolic role horses performed in representing monarchical authority. In this context, the equine trope is recast to suggest that a sovereign should not only appear majestic, as they do astride a great steed in stately processions, but should embody the attributes of majesty. Taken collectively, the horse references found throughout *Henry V* are the conclusion of the *Henriad*'s politicised appropriation of the equine trope, through which Shakespeare challenges the connections drawn between governing a horse and ruling a country.

A significant portion of Act Three, Scene Seven is focused on the Dauphin's horse. On the eve of the Battle of Agincourt, the Dauphin boasts:

I will not change my horse with any that treads but on four pasterns. Ch'ha! He bounds from the earth as if his entrails were hairs – *le cheval volant*, the Pegasus, *qui a les narines de feu*! When I bestride him, I soar, I am a hawk. He trots the air. The earth sings when he touches it. The basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipe of Hermes. (III.vii.11-18)

The description of the horse as trotting the air and lightly touching the ground with his musical hooves is in direct contrast to the steeds the audience is asked to imagine in the opening Chorus of *Henry V*, 'Printing their proud hoofs i'th' receiving earth' (Prologue 27). The Dauphin's horse is depicted as a beautiful performer rather than a practical mount for war. In relation to this, Peter Heaney cites the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition of a palfrey to assert: 'Alas, this most significant of horses, [...] is a mere *palfrey*: "a saddle horse, as distinguished from a war-horse, esp. a small saddle-horse for ladies"'. So much for the Dauphin's prowess in battle.'¹⁶⁴ While it is true that palfreys were mainly ridden by women, they were also well-bred and highly expensive riding horses that were ideal for state occasions due to their comfortable gait.¹⁶⁵ Considering this common function of palfreys, the Dauphin arguably values his horse because it allows him to project an image of easy mastery in stately processions. The horse's

¹⁶⁴ Peter F. Heaney, 'Petruchio's Horse: Equine and Household Mismanagement in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 4 (1998). 2.1-12 (2.1) <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-1/heanshak.html>> [accessed 2 February 2015].

¹⁶⁵ Ewart Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Horse*, 2nd edn (Chester Springs, PA: Dufour Editions, 1998), p.14.

ceremonial importance is evident in the Dauphin's praise. By comparing his palfrey to Pegasus, the Dauphin not only attributes it with a mystical quality but also alludes to the height he is raised above others when astride the horse.¹⁶⁶ The Dauphin emphasises this elevation by claiming that when he rides his horse he becomes 'a hawk'. However, in so doing he undermines the superiority that the ruling elite gained when mounted on great horses; the Dauphin is depicted as a bird (albeit a noble one), while his horse is compared to the far superior mythical creature, Pegasus. The conflation of hawk and horse imagery in this scene recalls Vernon's depiction of Prince Hal in *1 Henry IV*, 'Ris[ing] from the ground like feather'd Mercury', 'To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus, / And witch the world with noble horsemanship' (IV.i.107, 109-110). Unlike Hal, the Dauphin is not considered to be a capable soldier; the Constable rejects Orleans's claims that the Dauphin is a 'gallant prince', claiming, 'Tis a hooded valour, and when it appears it will bate' (III.vii.95-96, 113-114). The Constable implies that when it is time to engage in battle, the Dauphin will 'bate' like a hawk that refuses to fly against its prey. While the hawk imagery used to describe Hal denotes his capability as a warrior, the hawk imagery used to describe the Dauphin suggests he is a coward.

Moreover, in *1 Henry IV*, Prince Hal is said to have complete control over his 'fiery Pegasus', while the Dauphin confuses who is the master in the horse-rider relationship when he claims, 'It is the prince of palfreys; his neigh is like the bidding of a monarch and his countenance enforces homage' (III.vii.27-29). Considering the regular associations made between governance and horsemanship throughout the *Henriad*, the connections drawn between the Dauphin's horse and sovereignty are purposeful. Watson suggests that this discussion reflects on the Dauphin's inability to rule, arguing that he 'qualifies only for the horse-role of subject, rather than the rider-role of sovereign, because he submits to the psychological hobby-horse he should be subduing.'¹⁶⁷ While the Dauphin is portrayed as incapable of governing, what is of

¹⁶⁶ For an alternative source for the depiction of the Dauphin's horse in this scene, see Haldeen Braddy, 'The Flying Horse in *Henry V*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 5 (1954), 205-207.

¹⁶⁷ Watson, pp.298-299.

greater importance is that the horse is represented as the figure of political authority. It is notable that at this point Orleans states, 'No more, cousin', which suggests that comparing a horse to a monarch is considered inappropriate. The Dauphin, however, suggests that this is an appropriate topic for a prince to discuss and continues: "'Tis a subject for a sovereign to reason on, and for a sovereign's sovereign to ride on, and for the world, familiar to us and unknown to lay apart their particular functions and wonder at him' (III.vii.35-39). The Dauphin arguably refers here to the belief that mastering the art of horsemanship was a productive use of time as it prepared members of the ruling elite for governance. However, the traditional image of the skilled rider as a capable ruler is undermined because the power structures are reversed and it is the horse that is obeyed and admired. By exaggerating the ceremonial function of his 'prince of palfreys', the Dauphin subverts the traditional symbolism of mastery and control conveyed by equestrian images and the horse emerges as the majestic being. The horse wields the power its rider should possess and the disparity in this relationship is what makes the Dauphin's claims so ludicrous. The Dauphin's excessive praise for his 'prince of palfreys' consequently undermines the role horses played in symbolising the power and authority of the ruling elite.

In addition, the play destabilises the function of horses as signifiers of power and authority by challenging their military importance. Firstly, the description of the Dauphin's majestic horse is juxtaposed with the pitiful depiction of the English horses in the following act. The Grandpré states:

The horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks
With torch-staves in their hand, and their poor jades
Lob down their heads, drooping the hides and hips,
The gum down-roping from their pale-dead eyes,
And in their palled dull mouths the grimmaled bit
Lies foul with chewed grass, still and motionless. (IV.ii.44-49)

Comparable to their riders, who are described as 'the shales and husks of men', the English horses are practically dead on their feet and so fail to intimidate the opposing forces (IV.ii.17). The French horses, in contrast, are represented as ready for battle and eager to serve. For example, the Constable states, 'Hark, how our steeds for present service neigh!' (IV.ii.7). The

Dauphin suggests that the horses will aid the French victory over the English, and commands: 'Mount them and make incision in their hides, / That their hot blood may spin in English eyes / And dout them with superfluous courage, ha!' (IV.ii.8-10). These lines conjure the image of the French cavalry charging over the English soldiers, whose bravery will come from the blood of the French horses that readily engage in the battle. However, these horses do not secure the French victory and instead emphasise their defeat. After the battle, the French herald, Montjoy, asks Henry if they can find their dead and bury them, stating:

For many of our princes – woe the while! –
Lie drowned and soaked in mercenary blood;
So do our vulgar drench their peasant limbs
In blood of princes; and their wounded steeds
Fret fetlock-deep in gore and with wild rage
Yerk out their armed heels at their dead masters,
Killing them twice. (IV.vii.76-80)

The 'vulgar' soldiers, nobles and horses are mixed together in a mire of limbs and blood, thus collapsing the distinctions between peasant and prince, and human and animal. In addition, the usual hierarchies are further subverted by the violent image of the horses wounding the dead bodies of their masters and killing them for a second time. For both the English and the French armies, horses do not enforce their military power but rather highlight their failings.

By the end of *Henry V*, horses no longer function as markers of nobility or military strength, which is arguably also reflected in the play's wider devaluation of the accoutrements of sovereignty. In Act Four, Scene One, Henry V discusses his affinity with his subjects and the reciprocal nature of the sovereign-subject relationship. Henry, in disguise as a soldier, states:

I think the King is but a man: [...] all his senses have but human conditions; his ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man; and though his affections are higher mounted than ours, yet when they stoop they stoop with the like wing. (IV.i.101,103-107)

In this speech, Henry reflects on the monarch's natural body and its similitude with that of his subjects, which is emphasised by the fact that in his disguise Henry is stripped of 'the balm, the sceptre, and the ball, / The sword, the mace, the crown imperial, / The intertissued robe of gold

and pearl', all of which symbolise sovereignty (IV.i.256-258). The description of the passions of kings being 'higher mounted', arguably alludes to monarchs being placed physically above those they govern when on horseback in stately processions. However, Henry inverts the superiority that such equestrian images convey through an allusion to a falcon stooping from a great height to catch their prey. Through this metaphor, Henry suggests that when sovereigns succumb to their passions they fall just as hard and fast as ordinary humans. Henry's description conflates equestrian and hawking imagery in a comparable manner to the Dauphin's praise of his palfrey in the previous scene. Whereas the Dauphin claims his horse can carry him above ordinary men, transforming him into a hawk, Henry uses the same combination of images to ruminate on how quickly a sovereign can fall from greatness.

In this scene, Henry also laments the burdens of governance and suggests that, due to the strain of their duties, rulers cannot 'sleep so soundly as the wretched slave':

Who with a body filled and vacant mind
 Gets him to rest, crammed with distressful bread:
 Never sees a horrid night, the child of hell,
 But like a lackey from the rise to set
 Sweats in the eye of Phoebus, and all night
 Sleeps in Elysium; next day after dawn
 Doth rise and help Hyperion to his horse,
 And follows so the ever-running year
 With profitable labour to his grave. (IV.i.264, 265-273)

In this monologue Shakespeare arguably challenges the suggestion that such individuals have 'the fore-hand and vantage of a king', through a starkly different allusion to Phoebus's sun chariot than that found elsewhere in the *Henriad* (IV.i.277). The 'wretched slave' is said to toil all day and sleep all night, in a perpetual cycle until he dies; not as enviable an existence as Henry V suggests. More significantly, for the purposes of this chapter, the 'wretched slave' is also described as a 'lackey' and is also said to 'help Hyperion to his horse', thus comparing him to the footmen who ran beside horse-drawn chariots. Shakespeare conflates Phoebus and Hyperion here to suggest that the slave assists the sun-god in his duties, which arguably refers to the sovereign's reliance on his subjects for the smooth running of the commonwealth. There

is also a sense of reciprocity as the slave enjoys ‘the country’s peace’ that the restless king maintains. Shakespeare therefore alludes to Phoebus’s sun-chariot in this instance to present an almost Hobbesian model of kingship, whereby the king relies on his subjects’ service as much as they rely on him for security.

Henry’s meditations on the burdens of kingship in Act Four, Scene One and particularly his distinctive allusion to the Phoebus’s sun chariot, are put in direct contrast with the Dauphin’s hyperbolic praise of his princely palfrey and his defence that it is a worthy ‘subject for a sovereign to reason on, and for a sovereign’s sovereign to ride on’ (III.vii.35-37). For Henry, the demands and realities of ruling are more worthy topics of consideration than deliberating the worth of a horse. Throughout the *Henriad*, Shakespeare problematises the concept that being a capable rider makes a capable ruler, and the subsequent worth placed on the back of horses. What Shakespeare more overtly suggests in *Henry V* is that the ‘throne [a monarch] sits on’ does not make a ruler any more than the horse they ride (IV.i.260).

2.7 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that Shakespeare appropriated the cultural associations drawn between horsemanship and governance to explore the realities of ruling. It has also shown that Shakespeare was engaging in a wider tradition of using horses in early modern plays to contemplate political issues through analysis of Christopher Marlowe’s *2 Tamburlaine the Great* and the anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*, both of which are likely to have influenced Shakespeare’s employment of the equine trope. In the first play of the *Henriad*, Shakespeare challenges Richard II’s suitability to govern, despite his legitimacy to rule, through the Phaethon myth, which casts the King as an unruly horse that threatens the destruction of his country. Although the application of the Phaethon myth to depict Richard’s mismanagement of the state arguably justifies Bolingbroke’s usurpation of the throne, Shakespeare also uses equine imagery to problematise Henry IV’s acquisition of power in *Richard II* and his uneasy rule in *1* and *2 Henry IV*. Shakespeare alludes to the Phaethon myth not only to represent

Richard's misrule but to also question the legitimacy and authority of Henry IV, and the manner in which he enforces both through his horsemanship. However, Henry IV's ceremonial displays on horseback are revealed to be merely performative and indicate his potential for tyranny. Having deposed Richard II, Henry IV does not command the willing obedience of his subjects and consequently is forced to use harsher methods of governance to retain the throne and secure it for his successor. Nevertheless, Henry IV fears for the future of England under the governance of his seemingly untameable heir, Prince Hal, who threatens to make the same mistakes as Richard II and become a second Phaethon. It is only when Hal learns from his father's example and comes to accept the throne as a burden he must bear that he is transformed from a wild jade into an ideal ruler. In *Henry V*, Shakespeare continues to challenge the figuration of the sovereign as rider and commonwealth as horse by mocking the performative aspects of kingship that this image encapsulates, both through the Dauphin's praise of his 'prince of palfreys' and Henry V's dismissal of the regalia of kingship. Sovereignty is defined by what one does as a ruler to protect the interests of their subjects as opposed to how majestic one appears astride a horse.

Shakespeare does not appear to employ the equine trope in the same way during the reign of King James I. While Boehrer suggests that this is due to the social devaluation of the cavalry in the seventeenth century, it is perhaps also because the concerns of who would take over the reins of state once he died was less of a concern since James had two sons to succeed him. In addition, Shakespeare's constitutional views of governance, as is conveyed through his image of reciprocal relations between horse/subject and rider/ruler, would have conflicted with James's absolutist views of monarchy. When Shakespeare became a member of the King's Men upon James's accession, he presumably adapted his plays to the new sovereign's political views. Nevertheless, Shakespeare continued to reflect on political issues during James's reign in his plays, just as he did under Elizabeth, through the astute employment of animal imagery, as the next two chapters of this thesis will demonstrate.

III

‘A game of state’:

Falconry, Status and Statecraft in Early Modern Drama

When examining allusions to falconry in early modern drama, scholars most often refer to *The Taming of the Shrew*, due to the similarities between Petruchio’s taming of Katherine and the methods of training a hawk.¹ These studies commonly conclude that Shakespeare invokes falconry in this play to portray Elizabethan attitudes toward marriage.² In her study on *Masculinity and the Hunt*, Catherine Bates argues that the ‘specific gendering’ of falconry made the sport an easy ‘metaphor for love’ and ‘for the figuring of male-female relations.’³ Such gendered readings of the falconry trope are accurate inasmuch as early modern allusions to the sport are imbued with connotations of the sexual chase and patriarchal authority for the following reasons: most prized raptors are female, owing to their larger size; the majority of falconers and authors of falconry manuals tend to be male; the process of ‘reclaiming’ a falcon or hawk is alternatively known as ‘manning’; and the manuals commonly resort to the language of love and courtship to describe the taming process. However, it has been largely overlooked that when formulating the process of ‘manning’, falconry manuals also appropriate the language of governance, instructing keepers how to rule over their birds in order to bring them to subjection and serve their keeper’s desires. The language of falconry is, therefore, also imbued with the concepts of royal power and obedience, and the strategies by which both are achieved and maintained. As I demonstrate in the first half of this chapter, falconry was not

¹ Despite the notable differences between hawks and falcons, the terms are employed interchangeably in early modern texts. For clarity, when describing the birds collectively I refer to them as hawks or raptors and to the sport as falconry, but differentiate between hawks and falcons when it is necessary to the discussion. For further discussion of the differences between hawks and falcons, see Richard Grassby, ‘The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, 157 (1997), 37-62 (pp.37-38).

² For example, see: Sean Benson, “‘If I Do Prove Her Haggard’: Shakespeare’s Application of Hawking Tropes to Marriage”, *Studies in Philology*, 103 (2006), 186-207; George Hibbard, ‘*The Taming of the Shrew*: A Social Comedy’, in *Shakespearean Essays, Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 2 (1964), 15-28; Margaret Loftus Ranald, ‘The Manning of the Haggard or *The Taming of the Shrew*’, *Essays in Literature*, 1 (1974), 149-165.

³ Catherine Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.151, 153.

only a noble sport because it required leisure time and wealth, but also because it trained the ruling elite in the art of statecraft.

The connotations of state power are not necessarily apt, however, for as the anthropologist Sara Asru Schroer demonstrates in her study on human-avian relationships in falconry, ‘birds of prey cannot be forced to hunt and cooperate.’⁴ This resistance is not only due to a certain wilfulness in raptors but also because, despite being fierce and capable hunters, their bodies are vulnerable to injury. The taming and training of hawks therefore requires milder methods of taming than the ‘breaking’ of horses; bits, curbs and bridles are replaced with sensory deprivation, the withholding of food and human-avian familiarisation. Falconry expert Helen Macdonald stresses that hawks and falcons should be ‘trained entirely through positive reinforcement. They must never be punished; as solitary creatures, they fail to understand hierarchical dominance relations familiar to social creatures such as dogs or horses.’⁵ As falconry requires raptors to be released from their restraints, thus allowing the birds to fly out of the reach of their human masters, it is essential that they have been correctly trained or they may not return. Hawks and falcons thus have a greater degree of agency than the other animals discussed in this thesis, and it is this independence which provokes anxieties about their loyalty to their human keepers.

Due to the methods by which falconers coerce their hawks into hunting on their behalf and willingly returning to the fist after a kill, the language of falconry has entered into the English language to denote the ability to control or purposefully deceive someone; to have someone ‘under the thumb’ or ‘wrapped around your little finger’, derives from the keeper holding on to the jesses attached to the bird’s ankle to prevent it from flying away, and to ‘hoodwink’ — one of Shakespeare’s favoured phrases — refers to the leather hoods that cover the bird’s eyes to

⁴ Sara Asu Schroer, ‘On the Wing: Exploring Human-Bird Relationships in Falconry Practice’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2014), p.21.

⁵ Helen Macdonald, *Falcon* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), p.85.

keep it calm and tractable.⁶ Conversely, raptors were largely prized hunters due to their incredible eyesight, hence the sayings, to be ‘eagle-eyed’ or to ‘watch someone like a hawk’, which denote careful observation and an acute awareness of one’s surroundings. The practice of falconry consequently provides apt metaphors for both deception and the ability to perceive treachery.

The association of falconry with coercion and deception, as well as the delicate nature of the falconer’s authority over their raptor, is why the sport is culturally appropriated to explore the methods by which rulers maintain their sovereignty and the loyalty of their subjects. As Derrida observes in *The Beast and the Sovereign*, ‘few princes are faithful [...]: they almost all use cunning with their commitments. For they are constrained, in fact, to do so.’⁷ In a similar fashion to the ability of hawks to fly above their masters, subjects pose the threat of disloyalty due to overreaching ambitions. However, as with the equine trope discussed in the previous chapter, falconry does not provide a stable metaphor for sovereign power; raptors are interchangeable emblems for subjects and rulers because falcons and hawks, along with eagles, are regarded as kings over all other birds. Sovereigns are required to adopt similar methods to those used by falconers to gain and maintain their subjects’ obedience, while at the same time emulating the remarkable vision of raptors to, like Machiavelli’s wily fox, discern traps and snares.⁸ As raptors are also predatory creatures that are primarily valued for their ability to kill, their sovereignty is often conflated with tyrannical characteristics. Eagles, falcons and hawks are therefore used in early modern texts to represent both regal characters and rapacious rulers, thus blurring the line between sovereignty and tyranny.

⁶ This chapter will discuss the use of this term in *Macbeth* in more depth (IV.iii.72). Shakespeare uses the term elsewhere: in a more literal sense to describe Parolles’s hooding in *All’s Well That Ends Well* (III.vi.23, IV.i.81); to convey the blind chaos of war in *Cymbeline* (V.ii.16); to refer to Cupid’s blindness in *Romeo and Juliet* (I.iv.4); and by Caliban in *The Tempest* to convince Trinculo that Prospero’s treasures will make him forget their misadventures (IV.i.206).

⁷ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.83.

⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicholas Machiavel’s Prince*, trans. by Edward Dacres (London, 1640), sig.G9^r.

Through an examination of the politically infused language of falconry, this chapter provides a re-reading of the falconry trope in early modern drama and its associations with status and statecraft. I first consider the cultural significance of falconry in the early modern period and the role of hawks and falcons in the construction of elite identity. To historically contextualise the representation of human-avian relationships in early modern drama, this chapter offers close textual analyses of early modern falconry manuals and investigates the material culture of the sport, primarily by outlining the practical uses and symbolism of falconry instruments, or ‘furniture’, such as hoods, jesses, bells, lures, and gloves. These instruments are imbued with the tenuous balance of power that exists between falconer and hawk, and, by extension, convey the fragile authority that humans exercise over nature.

I next explore why falconry appears to have been of particular personal interest to Shakespeare, who adopted a silver falcon for the crest of his coat of arms. I conclude that Shakespeare adopted the falcon in his coat of arms to defend his status as a player, while employing the falconry trope in his plays to explore the role of cunning in statecraft. I consider examples of this in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and also in Christopher Marlowe’s *Edward II*. Both Henry VI and Edward II fail to secure the obedience of those under their control and are consequently mewed in prison like hawks, and left vulnerable to the predation of their most ambitious subjects.

In 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and *Edward II*, the falconry trope is used to draw parallels between the height at which a hawk can pitch and the dangers of overreaching ambition. Shakespeare develops these ideas further in *Macbeth* to represent the fatal consequences of an ‘unmanned’ raptor usurping power and tyrannically reducing his subjects to helpless fowl. I use this material to offer a more politicised reading of the falconry trope in *The Taming of the Shrew*, which I argue is concerned with the failure to secure the willing obedience of subjects through oppression, as is exemplified by the performative nature of Katherine’s final monologue. I suggest that Shakespeare combines the falconry trope and metatheatre in *The Shrew* to reflect on the more positive uses of cunning and deception, such as that employed by playwrights and

actors to conceal the subversive content of their plays. By re-examining the cultural connections between falconry and governance in early modern drama, this chapter suggests that Shakespeare invoked the methods used to ‘reclaim’ hawks to challenge the tyrannical aspects of patriarchal systems, including that of both the domestic household and the state at large, and to undermine the notion that mastery over a sovereign creature conveys true nobility.

3.1 Falconry, Status and Statecraft

In the prefatory material to Edward Topsell’s *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes* (which was never completed or printed during his lifetime), he justifies the title of his natural history of avian creatures: ‘Behold ye fowles of heauen, for the *Angells* are winged aboute soe are the fowles beneath in so muche as the fowles are and may be called *Angells* on earth’.⁹ This statement exemplifies the awe in which birds were held in the early modern period due to their ability to fly. The gift of flight is why birds are placed above all other animals, and just below humans, in the creaturely hierarchy, as is evidenced by the illustration of the Great Chain of Being in Didacus Valadés’s *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579).¹⁰ However, the ability of birds to fly also challenged the notion of human sovereignty. In her study on the significance of birds in early modern culture, Rebecca Ann Bach argues that high-flying birds, such as eagles and hawks, particularly undermined the notion of human pre-eminence because they ‘reach toward God, unlike some men who look downwards towards themselves.’¹¹ Bach notes that early modern people were aware that, although these birds could be tamed, they ‘could see better and further than them and could fly closer to Heaven than some people might ever be able.’¹² She consequently argues that ‘[o]nly royalty and Angels could match their status,’ which is the

⁹ Edward Topsell, *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes*, ed. by Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger (Austin: The University of Texas, 1972 [1614]), p.17. This text was Topsell’s final contribution to his history of creatures. However, Topsell only completed one fifth of *The Fowles of Heaven* by 1614 and it remained as a unique manuscript in the Henry E. Huntington Library (EL.1142) until the publication of Harrison and Hoeniger’s transcription in 1972.

¹⁰ Didacus Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579). The engraving of the Great Chain of Being is inserted between pages 220 and 221 (sig.EE4^v-FF^r).

¹¹ Rebecca Ann Bach, *Birds and Other Creatures in Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare, Descartes, and Animal Studies* (London: Routledge, 2018), p.50.

¹² Bach, pp.55, 65.

reason why nobles were often affiliated with eagles, falcons and hawks in literary texts, while common people were usually associated with flightless poultry.¹³

Indeed, in the early modern period, falconry had a long association with royalty and was restricted to the ruling elite as a mark of social prestige.¹⁴ In the thirteenth century, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II wrote that falconry is ‘an art more noble than other forms of hunting’, particularly ‘since many nobles and but few of the lower rank learn and carefully pursue this art, one may properly conclude that it is intrinsically an aristocratic sport.’¹⁵ Falconry was exclusively enjoyed by the higher ranks of society as it was expensive and required vast quantities of leisure time.¹⁶ In addition, the most popular raptors were costly; for example, Topsell states in *The Fowles of Heauen*, ‘I haue knowne an hundred pound a year land offered for one *Hawke*.’¹⁷ The ‘most revered and sought-after falcon of all’ was the rare white gyrfalcon, which was often invoked as a symbol of majesty and therefore made a suitable gift for royalty.¹⁸ In 1556, Csar Ivan IV sent Queen Mary I and Prince Philip II of Spain a ‘large and fair white Jerfawcon’.¹⁹ In return, Mary and Philip sent a lion and lioness, which indicates that the gyrfalcon was considered to be of greater value than the most sovereign beast of all.²⁰ In addition, in November 1617, the Muscovy Company presented King James I with an array of gifts, which included ‘hawks with their hoods and mantles covering their backs and wings all embroidered with gold and pearle’.²¹ As the gyrfalcon was ‘the principal hawke yt breedeth’ in Muscovy, it is likely that the majestically adorned creatures presented to James included

¹³ Bach, pp.50, 12.

¹⁴ Robin S. Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp.109-110. See also William H. Forsyth, ‘The Noblest of Sports: Falconry in the Middle Ages’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin New Series*, 2 (1944), 253-259.

¹⁵ Frederick II, *The Art of Falconry*, trans. and ed. by Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1943), pp.5, 6.

¹⁶ Oggins, p.110.

¹⁷ Topsell, *Fowles*, p.18.

¹⁸ Macdonald, p.9; Oggins, p.12. For further discussion of the historical and cultural significance of gyrfalcons, see Emma Ford, *Gyrfalcon* (London: John Murray, 1999).

¹⁹ Richard Hakluyt, *The Discovery of Muscovy* (London: Cassell & Co., 1893), p.122.

²⁰ Hakluyt, *Muscovy*, p.122.

²¹ John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First*, 4 vols: 3 (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), p.446.

gyrfalcons.²² These examples demonstrate the prestigious position occupied by hawks and falcons, and the sport in which they were used, in the early modern period.

To preserve falconry as a symbol of wealth and status, the possession of raptors and participation in the sport was historically limited to royals and nobles, along with all other forms of hunting. King John made falconry exclusive to the Crown in 1208 and, although Game Laws were more lenient under later sovereigns, they were still enforced. For example, a proclamation was issued towards the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign in 1602, 'for the maintenance and increase of the game of phesants and partridges', which stated that:

her Maiestie both for her exercise and for her delight is pleased many times to see her Hawkes flye, and would more often vse the same, if by the aforesayd disorders, and by the spoyle and disturbance of the Game by the common Hawking neere vnto her Houses, her pleasure therein were not preuented: Her Maiestie doeth likewise straightly charge and command that no person or persons, of what estate or degree soeuer they bee, shall Hawke at Phesant or Partidge, or at any Fowle of the Riuer, within three miles of any her aforenamed Houses [Windsor Castle, Whitehall, Hampton Court, Richmond, Greenwich, and Datelands], vnder the degree and qualitie of a Noble man, or of one of her Priuie Councell, vsing the same in their owne person, for their recreation, vpon paine of forfeiting their Hawkes, imprisonment of themselues, and as they will auoyd the further danger of her Maiesties heauy displeasure.²³

In addition, two statutes in 1603 and 1605 reasserted James I's rights, limiting hunting and hawking 'to freeholders worth approximately £40 per annum or £80 copyhold, and only on their land'.²⁴ As labourers earned approximately '26s. 6d' per year and yeomen between '£2-6', falconry was consequently limited to prosperous landowners.²⁵

As with all other forms of noble sports, falconry was justified as a leisurely pursuit for the ruling elite because it was said to maintain physical health and prevent idleness. Falconry was

²² Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: North-Eastern Europe and Adjacent Countries, Part III. The Muscovy Company and the North-Eastern Passage* (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmith, 1886), p.229.

²³ Elizabeth I, *By the Queene. Forasmuch as her Maiestie doeth vnderstand that the statutes made hertofore for the maintenance and increase of the game of phesants and partridges* (London, 1602).

²⁴ Grassby, pp.58-59.

²⁵ Jeffrey L. Singman, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1995), p.36.

therefore a central part of the education of young nobles and royals, both male and female. However, as Gregory M. Colón Semenza notes in his study of sports in early modern England, unlike hunting, ‘hawking’s military function is not immediately apparent.’²⁶ This is largely because the sport was not as physically demanding as *par force* hunting. For example, in *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Thomas Elyot states that falconry ‘is a ryghte delectable solace, thoughe therof co[m]meth nat so moche vtilitie (concernynge exercise) as there dothe of huntinge.’²⁷ Comparably, in *Basilikon Doron* (1599), James I outlines the ‘bodelie exercises’ that kings and princes should engage in.²⁸ He praises ‘hunting, speciallie with running hounds’ as ‘the most honorable and noblest sorte thereof’.²⁹ However, he expresses some concerns about hunting with birds:

As for hawking I condemne it not but I must praise it more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the warres so neere as hunting doth in making a man hardie & skilfull riddin in all groundes: & is more vncertain & subject to mischances; & (which is worste of al) is ther through an extreame stirrer vp of passions.³⁰

James’s description suggests frustration at the lack of power the human participants had over the sport and its outcome. As Schroer observes, falconry is ‘defined by a number of factors, most of which lie outside of the realm of human control’, thus ‘it requires of humans to be able to respond to unforeseen developments.’³¹ In falconry, the human participants take a secondary role once the raptor has been released from its restraints; at this point, all the humans can do is watch events unfold, and hope that their bird has been sufficiently trained to kill their prey and return to them once the hunt is finished. It is important to note, however, that many members of the ruling elite were not directly involved in the “manning” of their birds and relied on the expertise of falconers to undertake the lengthy taming and training process. In royal households, the role of Master Falconer was a coveted position that was often occupied by

²⁶ Gregory M. Colón Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), p.61.

²⁷ Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (London, 1531), sig.I8^v.

²⁸ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), sig.T4^r.

²⁹ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron*, sig.T4^v.

³⁰ James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron*, sig.V^r.

³¹ Schroer, p.70.

nobles. As Marcy Norton notes, the ‘aristocrat performed his nobility by practising falconry and the professional falconer raised his social standing through his service.’³²

George Turbervile’s 1575 manual, *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking*, includes a poem ‘In Commendation of Hawking’, which explains why the sport is appropriate for nobles:

What sence so sad, what mind so mazde, but sets his sorrowes by,
What once the Falcon free begins, to scud amid the skie?
To turne and winde a bird by sleight, and eke at last to slay
With strong encounter, doues and duckes, and euey other pray?
The pretty Partridge, Rayles, and Quayles, that haunt the open field?
And from her mountey to enforce the Hearon haught to yeeld?
By binding with hir close in cloudes, in maner out of sight?
For noble Peeres and cheefest States, a passing pleasant flight?
So small a birde, so large a fowle, at such a loftie gate,
To reach and rappe, and force to fall, it is a game of state.³³

Turbervile describes falconry as ‘a game of state’, in which participants view their raptors hunt their prey ‘by sleight’, which denotes ‘subtle craft, cunning, or strategy’, as opposed to relying on just sheer strength and force.³⁴ Turbervile focuses on the *Haut Vol*, ‘the Great Flights’, which Macdonald states were ‘the *ne plus ultra* of early modern European falconry’ as ‘they were seen as reflections of human intrigues of political and military strategy and power’.³⁵ The *Haut Vol* involved the pursuit of large birds, such as cranes, kites or herons, by highly prized falcons, primarily the gyrfalcon, peregrine or lanner.³⁶ In these chases, the quarry climbs as high as it can into the air in order to keep above the raptor; the raptor, in turn, aims to climb above the quarry so that it can ‘stoop’, or dive, down on its prey. There is an obvious comparison to be made between the *Haut Vol* and the political jostling that occurred at court; when watching such matches, the human participants witness predator and prey rise and fall like the fortunes of royals and courtiers alike.

³² Marcy Norton, ‘Going to the Birds: Animals as Things and Beings in Early Modernity’, in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. by Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.53-83 (p.58).

³³ George Turbervile, *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking* (London, 1575), sig.B^v.

³⁴ ‘sleight, adj.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/181659>> [accessed 25 July 2018].

³⁵ Macdonald, p.77.

³⁶ Schroer, p.46.



Figure 3.1: 'How to flee the Hearon', in George Turbervile, *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking* (London, 1575), sig.G8^v. Image used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

In his 'Commendation of Hawking', Turbervile specifically depicts a match between a falcon and a heron, which he later describes as 'the most noblest and stately flight that is'.³⁷ To emphasise its royal connections, Turbervile's description of this pursuit is accompanied by an engraving of Queen Elizabeth I watching an aerial battle between a falcon and a heron (Figure 3.1).³⁸ Notably, the image of a falcon attacking a heron from above, with the latter turned on its back to defend itself, is a frequent motif in early modern art, thus signifying its symbolic importance in the early modern period (for comparison see Figure 1.2).³⁹ Hamlet's notoriously enigmatic statement, 'I am but mad north-north-west. When the wind is southerly, I know a

³⁷ Turbervile, sig.K8^v.

³⁸ Turbervile, sig.G8^v.

³⁹ For further discussion of this motif, see Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp.61-64.

hawk from a handsaw', draws upon the flight against the heron (II.ii.379-380).⁴⁰ Shakespeare may have been influenced by the detailed account of 'the mountie at a Hearne' by a 'Ierfaulcon' (gyrfalcon), from the First Book of Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (first published in 1590), which is described as an 'example to great persons, that the higher they be, the lesse they should show'.⁴¹ As this flight involves, to use Turbervile's description, 'So small a birde, so large a fowle, at such a loftie gate', the outcome is unpredictable, with the falcon having to rely on its ingenuity rather than just strength and size to defeat its opponent; hence why the gyrfalcon in Sidney's *Arcadia* is said to have 'used no more strength than industry', in pursuing its quarry.⁴² While the falcon's victory over the heron can signify 'the triumph of virtue over vice', in Sidney's account, the gyrfalcon is also accused of 'greedines' and her tactics for rising above the heron are compared to 'an ambitious bodie [that] will go far out of the direct way, to win to a point of height which he desires'.⁴³ Once the gyrfalcon has reached 'the higher pitch', she is said to 'either beate with cruell assaults the Heron, who now has driuen to the best defence of force, since flight would not serue, or else clasping with him, come down together'.⁴⁴ As Sidney's account demonstrates, the 'mountie at a Hearne' is not a simple case of good versus evil but rather emblematically symbolises competing ambitions and the methods by which one adversary gains the upper hand over another. While falconry may not have resembled war as much as *par force* hunting, the *Haut Vol* represented the political games that rulers were often involved in with foreign dignitaries and ambitious courtiers, thus providing instruction in the foresight required to discern plots that could undermine their sovereignty, and tactics for bringing down their enemies. The sport therefore mirrors the

⁴⁰ There is not sufficient space here to analyse the significance of these lines in detail. For further discussion of this statement, and falconry and hunting more generally, in *Hamlet*, see Rhodri Lewis, *Hamlet and the Vision of Darkness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp.43-111.

⁴¹ Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, 1593), sig.K3^r. For discussion of Sidney's influence on Shakespeare, see Michel Poirier, 'Sidney's Influence upon a *Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 483-489; Irving Ribner, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Structure of *King Lear*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 24 (1951), 63-68; Alwin Thaler, *Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney: The Influence of The Defence of Poesy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1947).

⁴² Sidney, *Arcadia*, sig.K3^r.

⁴³ Cohen, p.62; Sidney, *Arcadia*, sig.K3^r.

⁴⁴ Sidney, *Arcadia*, sig.K3^r.

circumstances to which rulers had to adapt, and the political collusions they were often forced to engage in, in order to preserve their power.

As James I often avoided his monarchical duties by going on frequent hunting trips (the significance of which will be discussed in the next chapter), he perhaps disliked falconry as it reminded him of the demands and complexities of ruling. The King himself acknowledged the connections between falconry and political manoeuvring in a letter that he wrote to Robert Cecil on 22 November 1604:

I could have heartily wished the day if it had been possible that my little beagle had been stolen here in the likeness of a mouse, as he is not much bigger, to have been partaker of the sport which I had this day at hawking. There should ye have seen in a fair calm warm day such as a “flain” mouse could not have taken cold in and in a fair and pleasant field so well flying Scottish hawks upon English fowls as ye could not but have discerned that they had been already naturalised without any reservation, and in the midst of my good hawking got I news of your good hunting amongst your fellows there.⁴⁵

In this letter, the King aligns his day of hawking with Cecil’s ongoing negotiations over the Union of England and Scotland, which ultimately failed.⁴⁶ James’s favoured, and somewhat derogatory, nickname for Cecil as his ‘little beagle’ emphasises the counsellor’s role as the King’s hound, being set on his enemies on command.⁴⁷ James perhaps also suggests that Cecil needs to emulate the ability of both the mouse to observe events without been seen, and the methods of the ‘Scottish hawks’ in taking down the ‘English fowls’. Although James may not have enjoyed falconry as much as hunting, like Turbervile, he recognised its similitude to ‘the game of state’, and possibly felt that Cecil could take some pointers from the sport in his task of

⁴⁵ ‘King James to Robert Cecil, 22 November 1604’, in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, ed. by M. S. Giuseppi, 24 vols: 16 (London: HMSO, 1933), pp.362-364 (pp.362-363).

⁴⁶ It was James VI and I’s ambition for the 1603 Union of the Crowns to extend to statutory unification between England and Scotland. However, James’s plans were met with resistance and in April 1604 the Commons refused his request to be styled ‘King of Great Britain’. Although James issued a proclamation in October 1604 announcing that he had assumed this title, it was not legally recognised. James’s ambition was not realised until the Acts of Union in 1707. For further discussion of the Union, see Pauline Croft, *King James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp.58-68.

⁴⁷ For further discussion of this letter and Cecil’s nickname as James’s ‘little beagle’, see Frederick George Marcham, ‘James I of England and the Little Beagle Letters’, in *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), pp.311-334 (p.321).

bringing about the ‘act of Naturalization’ and ‘full accomplishment of the Union’.⁴⁸ As a skilled diplomat himself, it is unsurprising that James did not employ the politically inflammatory metaphor of the Scottish as hawks and the English as their prey in his official speeches on the Union and instead, more conventionally, declared to Parliament in March 1604, ‘I am the husband and the whole isle is my lawful wife; I am the head and it is my body; I am the shepherd and it is my flock’.⁴⁹

The variety of birds used in falconry means that, as Richard Almond argues, it ‘has all the ingredients necessary for successful hierarchical imagery which can be read on several levels.’⁵⁰ *The Booke of St Albans*, a compilation of earlier manuscript writings which was first printed in 1486 and attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, provides a hierarchy according to the social rank to which each raptor was suitable. In the 1595 version of this text, *The Gentlemans Academie. Or, The Booke of St Albans*, an emperor is assigned an eagle, a king a gyrfalcon, and a prince the falcon gentle, while a goshawk is allocated to a yeoman, a sparrowhawk for a priest and (the inspiration behind Barry Hines’s 1968 novel), a kestrel for a knave.⁵¹ *The Booke of St Albans* makes clear that there were distinct hierarchies between different types of raptors, with eagles occupying the top spot. However, as David Horobin asserts, [t]he list is not a set of rules of hawk ownership, but a piece of social imagery. The more majestic birds are for the higher social classes, and the lower ones are for the corresponding ranks.⁵² While it is unlikely that these rules were enforced or followed, they had a lasting impact on the literary appropriation of the falconry trope.⁵³ For example, Shakespeare arguably draws attention to this text by setting the hawking match in 2 *Henry VI* near ‘Saint Alban’s Shrine’, thus suggesting that he was influenced by the hierarchical list of raptors included in the *Booke of St Albans* (II.i.62).

⁴⁸ ‘King James to Robert Cecil, 22 November 1604’, p.363.

⁴⁹ James VI and I, ‘Speech to parliament, 19 March 1604’, in *King James VI and I: Political Writings*, ed. by Johann Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.132-46 (p.136).

⁵⁰ Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud: The History Press), p.45.

⁵¹ Juliana Berners, *The Gentlemans Academie. Or, The Booke of St Albans* (London, 1595), sig.E2^r-E3^r.

⁵² David Horobin, *Falconry in Literature* (Surrey: Hancock House Publishers, 2004), p.65.

⁵³ For further discussion of *The Book of St Albans*, see Horobin, pp.53-71.

Several important medieval and early modern literary texts used birds more generally to reflect on political concerns. Among the most influential (as was briefly discussed in the introduction to this thesis) is Geoffrey Chaucer's late fourteenth-century poem *The Parliament of Fowls*: a social satire which employs an array of birds to, as Bruce Kent Cowgill argues, present the 'contrast between the ordered state wisely governed according to natural law and the chaos of a state whose leadership is selfish and irresponsible.'⁵⁴ Chaucer's work inspired Michael Drayton's satirical beast fable *The Owle* (1604), which makes extensive use of the hierarchical nature of the bird kingdom to reflect on the court of James I.⁵⁵ As Shakespeare is believed to have been acquainted with Drayton and to have collaborated with him on other projects, it is likely that *The Owle* was a source of inspiration for Shakespeare's use of bird imagery in *Macbeth*, as will be discussed in this chapter.⁵⁶

The bird imagery used by Drayton, and by Shakespeare in a selection of his works, may have been influenced by James I's poem *Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie Called Phoenix*, which was included in a collection of essays on poetry by the King that was published in 1584.⁵⁷ This allegorical poem commemorated the passing of James's cousin and great favourite Esmé Stuart, who was made the first Duke of Lennox by the young King. There was much speculation about the influence that Lennox had over James, and the Scottish nobles plotted to oust him from this position of power. On 22 August 1582, a group of Scottish nobles (known as

⁵⁴ Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Parliament of Fowls', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.383-394 (ll.330, 337); Bruce Kent Cowgill, 'The "Parlement of Foules" and the Body Politic', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 315-355 (p.315).

⁵⁵ Michael Drayton, *The Owle* (London, 1604). For further discussion of this text, see Elton Oliver, *An Introduction to Michael Drayton* (Manchester: The Spenser Society, 1895), pp.29-30; Anne Lake Prescott, 'Drayton, Michael (1563-1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2004), online edn <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8042>> [accessed 22 November 2016], paras.8-9.

⁵⁶ For further discussion of the relationship between Shakespeare and Drayton, see Meghan C. Andrews, 'Michael Drayton, Shakespeare's Shadow', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 65 (2014), 273-306; J. William Hebel, 'Drayton and Shakespeare', *Modern Language Notes*, 41 (1926), 248-250.

⁵⁷ James VI and I, 'Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie Called Phoenix', in *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Diuine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig.G2^r-I2^v. For in-depth analysis of this poem, see David M. Bergeron, *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990), pp.53-64.

the ‘Lords Enterprisers’), led by William Ruthven, first Earl of Gowrie, took custody of James (known as the ‘Ruthven Raid’), and kept the King imprisoned for ten months. The Lords Enterprisers forced James to banish his favourite and issued a diatribe against Lennox on 17 September 1582, which claimed they had taken custody of the King to remove him from Lennox’s treasonous influence.⁵⁸ Lennox had no choice but to return to France, where he died in May 1583. Following his death, Lennox’s embalmed heart was sent to James in recognition of his eternal love and duty to the King.⁵⁹ The *Tragedie called Phoenix* represents James’s reciprocation of Lennox’s love. The young King presents Lennox as the ‘*Phoenix rare*’ that is attacked by the ‘rauening fowls’, ‘the *Rauin*, the *Stainchell*, & the *Gled*’ (the raven, the kestrel and the kite, who David Bergeron argues represent the Earls of Angus, Gowrie and Mar), thus reducing this magnificent creature to ‘commoun prey’.⁶⁰ After the Phoenix was forced to return ‘homeward’, the speaker states that ‘she had such desyre / To burne her self’, that she sacrificed herself to ‘*Phoebus*’, ‘Which burnt her nest, her fethers, bones, and skin / All turnd in ash.’⁶¹ At the end of the poem, it is James who emerges from Lennox’s ashes as the ‘*Phoenix new*’.⁶² Notably, when James orchestrated his escape from Gowrie in June 1583, Sir James Melville (who aided the King) observed, ‘his Majeste thocht him self at liberte, with gret joy and exclamation, lyk a burd flowen out of a kaige, passing his tym in ha[u]king be the way, efter the said meting, thinking him self then sur enough’.⁶³ Although it took many more years for James to fully secure his freedom, he was eventually successful in enforcing his authority as the King of Scotland, and later as the King of England.

⁵⁸ ‘Statement of Offences committed by Lennox [17 September 1582]’, in *Calendar of State Papers. Scotland*, ed. by William K. Boyd, 11 vols: 6 (London: HMSO, 1910), pp.171-174.

⁵⁹ For a fuller account of these events, see Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Pimlico, 2003), pp.51-71.

⁶⁰ James VI and I, *Phoenix*, sig.G4^v, H3^r, H3^v. Bergeron, p.60.

⁶¹ James VI and I, *Phoenix*, sig.H4^r, F.

⁶² James VI and I, *Phoenix*, sig.I2^r.

⁶³ James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life by Sir Hames Melville of Halhill, 1549-1593*, ed. by Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), p.287. Cited by Stewart, p.72.

There are notable comparisons between James I's relationship with Lennox and the relationship portrayed in Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* between the eponymous King and his favourite Piers Gaveston.⁶⁴ This play, as the present chapter will show, uses falconry imagery to present the dangers posed by ambitious courtiers and nobles who compete to gain control over an incompetent monarch, which suggests it may have been influenced by James's *Tragedie Called Phoenix*. Perhaps more evident is the influence of James's poem on Shakespeare's enigmatic allegorical poem *The Phoenix and Turtle*. This poem was published in 1601 as part of a collection that included Robert Chester's obscure poem *Love's Martyr*, which also focuses on the relationship between the phoenix and the turtledove.⁶⁵ Shakespeare's contribution to *Love's Martyr* has been the subject of much speculation but, as Marie Axton argues, '[w]hatever else it might be, Shakespeare's poem is politically engaged', as it represents 'a distillation and continuation of thoughts about kingship, love and duty which appear in the histories and tragedies and, less eloquently, in the speeches and writings of his contemporaries.'⁶⁶ The Phoenix was associated with royalty due to its perceived ability to be reborn after entering the flames, with its successor being born from its ashes. It is therefore fitting that the childless Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I, employed this mythical bird as an emblem, as is attested to by the so-called *Phoenix Portrait*.⁶⁷ Due to the bird's associations with Elizabeth I, Axton suggests that the Phoenix symbolises the Queen and the body politic, while the Turtledove represents the Queen's love for her subjects and her natural body, which will inevitably perish.⁶⁸ If we take

⁶⁴ For further discussion of allusions to Lennox's relationship with James VI and I in *Edward II*, see Pauline Kewes, 'Marlowe, History, and Politics', in *Christopher Marlowe in Context*, ed. by Emily C. Bartels and Emma Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.138-154; Lawrence Normand, "'What passions call you these?': *Edward II* and James VI', in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Darryl Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.172-197; Michael Young, *King James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp.57-68.

⁶⁵ Robert Chester, *Loves Martyr: or, Rosalins Complaint. Allegorically Shadowing the Truth of Loue, in the Constant Fate of the Phoenix and the Turtle* (London, 1601).

⁶⁶ Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p.116. For further discussion of this poem and its significance in the Shakespeare canon, see James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love: The Mystery of 'The Phoenix and Turtle'* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁶⁷ Associated with Nicholas Hilliard, *The 'Phoenix' Portrait, Queen Elizabeth I*, c.1575, oil on panel 78.7 x 61.10 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

⁶⁸ Axton, p.119.

the Phoenix to represent the Body Politic, the poem arguably also refers to King James VI of Scotland, who, despite numerous concerns about his suitability, had the strongest claim to the English throne in 1601.⁶⁹ While there is not sufficient space here to engage in extensive analysis of *The Phoenix and Turtle*, this poem demonstrates that Shakespeare used birds to reflect on the most pressing political concerns of the early modern period.

Like the Phoenix, eagles, along with falcons and hawks, were regarded as royal creatures in medieval and early modern texts.⁷⁰ The eagle was also closely aligned with the Phoenix as it was believed to be reborn after flying into the sun. For example, William Caxton's *Myrrour of the World* (1481) describes how,

Whan the Egle is moche aged, he fleeth so hye that he passeth the clowdes, and holdeth there his sight so longe ayenst the sonne that he hath al loste it and brende alle his fethers. Thenne he falleth doun on a montayne in a water that he hath to fore chosen, & in this manere he reneweth his lyf.⁷¹

James acknowledges the close association between these two birds in his *Tragedie Called Phoenix*, when he states, 'In quantitie, she dois resemble neare / Vnto the foule of mightie Iove, by name / The *Aegle* calld'.⁷² The eagle's royal associations are also found in early modern natural history.⁷³ In line with the hierarchical list given in the *Booke of St Albans*, Turbervile observes that 'The greate Turke of all other Princes, doth moste vse to flee with the Eagle'.⁷⁴ Similarly, Richard Burton notes in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) that, 'Muscouian Emperors reclaime Eagles to flye at Hindes, foxes &c. and such a one was sent for a present to Queene Elizabeth'.⁷⁵ Though these majestic creatures would make an impressive gift for a monarch, Turbervile states that eagles were not commonly used in European falconry because

⁶⁹ See, Susan Doran, 'Polemic and Prejudice: A Scottish King for an English Throne', in *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, ed. by Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp.215-235.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Chaucer, 'Parliament of Fowls', p.337 (ll.330); Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene Disposed into Twelve Books, Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues* (London, 1596), sig.P6^v.

⁷¹ William Caxton, *The Myrrour of the World* (Westminster, 1481), sig.G6^r.

⁷² James VI and I, *Phoenix*, sig.H^r.

⁷³ Turbervile, sig.A3^v, A4^v.

⁷⁴ Turbervile, sig.B4^r.

⁷⁵ Richard Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621), sig.Y3^v-Y4^r.

they were difficult to control and ‘by reason she is so huge and ventrous, she might happily offer force and violence to the eyes and face of hir keper, if at any time she should conceiue displeasure against him’.⁷⁶ The size and physical strength of eagles, that is, the very qualities that earned them their regal status, made them ill-suited to falconry and a danger to human keepers. The difficulty of bringing eagles under human dominance is the reason that they are appropriated as emblems of absolute power. For example, in *Titus Andronicus*, Tamora urges Saturninus:

King, be thy thoughts imperious like thy name.
[...]
The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
And is not careful what they mean thereby,
Knowing that with the shadow of his wings
He can at pleasure stint their melody (IV.iv.81-86).

According to this figuration, all other birds are inconsequential to the kingly eagle. The inherent danger in this sense of superiority is that the eagle does not have any regard for the lives of others and risks becoming an emblem of tyranny. While a good monarch should emulate the eagle’s majesty, they should not prey upon their subjects, as the eagle does upon lesser birds, or risk becoming a tyrant.

The ignoble ‘rauenous birds’, that resided at the bottom end of the hierarchical scale of raptors, were more commonly employed to reflect on tyrannical characteristics.⁷⁷ Raphael Holinshed identifies these birds in his *Chronicles of England* (1577), ‘as the bussard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & such as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yoong breeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned also the waie’.⁷⁸ Buzzards and kites were particularly regarded with contempt in the early modern period as their supposedly voracious and cunning natures were perceived to have a detrimental effect on human resources. The persecution of creatures that were viewed as destructive to

⁷⁶ Turbervile, sig.A5^v.

⁷⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London, 1577), sig.O6^v.

⁷⁸ Holinshed, sig.O6^v.

human food sources was justified in the early modern period through laws such as The Preservation of Grain Act, first passed in 1532 by Henry VIII and enhanced by Elizabeth I in 1566. These laws made it compulsory for individuals to kill creatures (for a price per head) that appeared on an official list of ‘vermin’ — a term that continues to be used today to justify the hunting of animals, such as foxes and badgers.⁷⁹ The 1566 Act specified that people would be paid a penny for ‘the head of everye three’, ‘Crowes, Choughes, Pyes, or Rooks’, or ‘for everye syx egges of anye of them unbroken’, delivered to the Churchwarden of their parish.⁸⁰ In contrast, it offered two pennies for a ‘hawke’, five for a ‘busard’, seven for a ‘Cormorant’, thirteen for a ‘raven’, and fourteen for a ‘kyte’.⁸¹ The high price placed on the heads of kites indicates the degree to which they were held in contempt in the period. Mary Fissell has argued that creatures that were classed as ‘vermin’ were viewed as devious poachers of human food, that ‘sometimes displayed a mastery of certain human forms and customs, a mastery which made humans uneasy.’⁸² Indeed, kites and buzzards were not only persecuted as vermin, they were also used as a byword for disobedient hawks and deceitful humans in early modern texts.⁸³

Notably, in *The Booke of St Albans*, an emperor is also assigned ‘a Bawter, and a Melowne’, which are alternative names for the vulture and the kite.⁸⁴ Horobin suggests that because the eagle, the vulture and the kite were not suited for falconry, their inclusion ‘could be a piece of political satire’.⁸⁵ He notes that all three require a substantial amount of space and food, and, despite the eagle’s regal associations, like the vulture and the kite, they often eat carrion, and

⁷⁹ For further discussion of vermin in modern society, see Kelsi Nagy and Phillip David Johnson, ‘Introduction’, in *Trash Animals: How We Live with Nature’s Filthy, Feral, Invasive, and Unwanted Species*, ed. by Kelsi Nagy and Phillip David Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp.1-27.

⁸⁰ For a transcript of the 1566 Act, see ‘Destruction of Birds and Vermin’, in *The East Anglian, or, Notes and Queries on Subjects Connected with the Counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, & Norfolk*, ed. by Samuel Tymms, 4 vols: 3 (London: Whittaker and Co., 1869), pp.275-279 (p.276)

⁸¹ ‘Destruction of Birds and Vermin’, p.277.

⁸² Mary Fissell, ‘Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England’, *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1999), 1-29 (pp.1-2, 2).

⁸³ For further discussion of the persecution of buzzards and kites, see E. L. Jones, ‘The Bird Pests of British Agriculture in Recent Centuries’, *The Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), 107-125. For more details on their maligned representation in literature, see Horobin, pp.88-90.

⁸⁴ Berners, sig.E2r; Horobin, p.56.

⁸⁵ Horobin, pp.66-67.

therefore survive, ‘by picking the bones of their subordinates.’⁸⁶ There are easy comparisons to be drawn here between the members of the ruling elite who exploited the labour of the lower classes for financial benefits. It also demonstrates that the eagle was closely associated with the more vilified vulture and kite, which is perhaps because they all belong to the accipitridae family of raptors and share physical characteristics, thus explaining the frequent slippage between these three birds in early modern texts.

According to the falconry manuals, the most popular bird of prey in the early modern period was the haggard hawk — a wild female bird captured in its adult plumage, and the type of hawk Petruchio explicitly identifies Katherine as when he declares, ‘Another way I have to man my haggard, / To make her come and know her keeper’s call’ (IV.i.181-182). Turbervile praises ‘Haggart Falcons’ as ‘the most excellent byrdes of all other Falcons’ as ‘she better knoweth the aduantage of hir flight [...] bycause she hath bene forced often to praye for hir selfe, and hath not bene subiect to the order of any keper.’⁸⁷ In contrast, eyases — young hawks taken from the nest to be trained for falconry — were not perceived to have the same hunting instincts. However, Turbervile admits that due to the inherent wildness of haggards, they ‘range and wander more than any other sorte’.⁸⁸ He asserts that the only way to ensure the obedience of a haggard hawk is by rewarding her with meat, which ‘meanes shee will alwayes loue the lewer and hir keeper well.’⁸⁹ In his *Approved Treatise of Hawkes and Hawking* (1619), Edmund Bert describes the taming of raptors more generally and suggests:

It may be some young professor in this Art is possest, that if his hawke be very hungry and sharpe, she will the sooner come vnto him: He is herein much deceiued; for vnlesse she loueth him very well, hunger is the speciall meanes that draweth her from him, for hunger must be satisfied, and her little loue to him will make her the better pleased with that she prouideth for her selfe, and make her looke out for her owne prouision: But if she be truely louing him, then there is no doubt but she would come the readilyer. Marke then, if this be not the onely maine poynt, for an Austringer to haue his hawke in loue with him.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Horobin, p.67.

⁸⁷ Turbervile, sig.C^r, C3^r.

⁸⁸ Turbervile, sig.C^v.

⁸⁹ Turbervile, sig.E8^v.

⁹⁰ Edmund Bert, *An Approved Treatise of Hawkes and Hawking* (London, 1619), sig.H4^r.

The falconry manuals therefore emphasise the importance of building a bond based on love rather than breaking the spirit of the bird through starvation, which is comparable to the sixteenth-century horsemanship manuals, which encouraged humane methods of taming horses; like horses, hawks are afforded a great level of respect because they are regarded as sovereign creatures that exercised an agency of their own.

Simon Latham focuses his manual, *Lathams Falconry, or the Faulcons Lure and Cure* (1614) on the haggard falcon as he claims it ‘is the birde [...] that (in these daies) most men doe couet and desire to prepare, and make fit for their pleasure.’⁹¹ Like Turbervile, Latham acknowledges the predisposition of haggards to wildness and dedicates the majority of his manual in instructing ‘how to alter and change the same into loue & gentlenesse, with subiection to the man, and so to rule, and gouerne her.’⁹² He discusses the difficulty of achieving this as the haggard falcon is ‘like a Conqueror in the contry, keeping in awe and subiection the most part of all the Fowle that flie,’⁹³ By representing the haggard hawk as a ruler in her own kingdom, Latham recognises the unstable power dynamics that are at play between human and raptor during the taming process and aerial hunts. Like Turbervile and Bert, he suggests that the way to ensure a haggard hawk’s ‘loue and disposition is agreeable to your desire’, is also through her stomach, and warns that unless this is mastered, nothing ‘will hold her in subiection’ and she will ‘renounc[e] all former familiaritie, and acquaintance betwixt you’.⁹⁴ While the language of love and courtship is evident in these falconry manuals, in expressing anxieties about the obedience of haggard hawks, the language of governance is also used, with an emphasis on how to ‘rule’, ‘govern’ and bring these creatures to ‘subjection’.

⁹¹ Simon Latham, *Lathams Falconry, or the Faulcons Lure and Cure* (London, 1614), sig.B^r.

⁹² Latham, sig.B^v.

⁹³ Latham, sig.B3^r.

⁹⁴ Latham, sig.D2^r.

Manuals were an essential component of falconry as the taming of hawks and falcons was, and still is today, an arduous process that requires great skill and patience, especially when it concerns haggard hawks. When first captured, the bird was confined in a quiet and dark space where it was denied sleep and food in order to make it more tractable. The lack of food made the bird especially welcoming to the falconer who would bring choice meats, as is observed by Turbervile, Bert and Latham. Once the hawk became more familiar with its new master, the falconer would be able to feed the bird on the fist, without her baiting, a term which describes the attempt of the hawk to fly away. The falconer would gradually carry the bird for longer periods of time and introduce her to other humans, as well as to the dogs that she would eventually hunt alongside. The importance of building a bond between keeper and bird during this part of the taming process is evident in a woodcut by the Swiss-German artist Jost Amman, in which a falconer is depicted feeding an unhooded hawk on his fist, surrounded by other birds of prey and hunting hounds (Figure 3.2). This image is featured in a late-sixteenth-century illustrated German hunting tract. The verse that is printed alongside it is entitled ‘How to relate to falcons’ and suggests that a capable falconer is defined by the obedience and good temperament of his raptor.⁹⁵ Indeed, falconers were aware that the taming process was not the same for every creature as they acknowledged the individuality of hawks. For example, in the revised edition of his falconry manual (1618), Latham states: ‘all *Hawkes* be not alike in their disposition, but are of contrary natures, and therefore will require great and diligent attendance, and skill to finde out their properties’.⁹⁶ It was the falconer’s responsibility to learn the nature of his bird and adapt the taming process accordingly.

There was an emphasis in the initial stages of the manning process on physical contact and close proximity between falconer and raptor in order to develop a bond of trust. For example, in his *Country Contentments, in Two Bookes* (1615) Gervase Markham states that hawks are manned through the following methods:

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Gabriella Infante for translating this verse from the German to the English.

⁹⁶ Simon Latham, *Lathams New and Second Booke of Falconrie* (London, 1618), sig.L^v-L2^r.

watching and keeping them from sleep, by a continual carrying of them vpon your fist, and by a most familiar stroaking and playing with them, with the wing of a dead Fowle or such like, and by gazing often and looking of them in the face, with a louing and gentle countenance, and so making them acquainted with the man.⁹⁷

Bert similarly emphasises the importance of physical contact when manning a hawk. He suggests that in the initial stages of reclaiming a hawk, ‘either vpon my fist or vpon some mans else, she should sit and walke all that day’, with a marginal note stressing, ‘Allow her no ease but vpon the fist’.⁹⁸ Norton argues that due to its emphasis on physical contact, falconry ‘produced a very particular kind of merger between human and bird, the blending of bodily space.’⁹⁹ The falconer has to adapt to carrying the bird on their fist, and the bird has to acclimatise to being carried by a human. However, when Bert claims that the process would be marred, ‘if she should be set down vpon a pearch but whilest I should change my Gloue’, he acknowledges the role of gloves in maintaining a protective barrier between human and raptor; this essential falconry instrument acknowledges the bird’s capacity to injure its human keeper.¹⁰⁰ The emphasis on forming a corporeal bond between falconer and raptor is notably similar to the desired centaur-like union between rider and horse which, as was discussed in the previous chapter, focuses on harmony between human and animal. As with falconry, this harmony was mediated through the use of saddles, stirrups, spurs, curbs, bits and bridles, which enable humans forcefully to harness the incredible strength of horses. Such instruments are useless in falconry as sport requires the physical contact between human and animal to be broken when the raptor is released from its restraints. The falconer can only trust that the bond of mutual affection has been successfully formed during the primary stages of reclaiming their bird.

⁹⁷ Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments, in Two Bookes* (London, 1615), sig.M4^v-N^r.

⁹⁸ Bert, sig.C3^r.

⁹⁹ Norton, p.57.

¹⁰⁰ Bert, sig.C3^r.

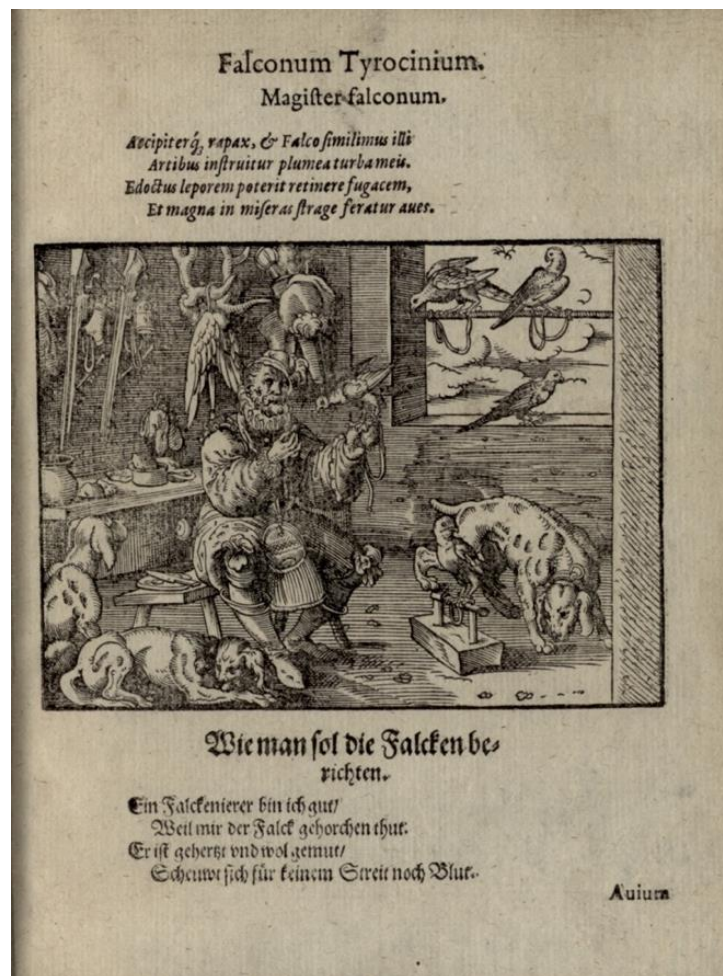


Figure 3.2: Jost Amman, 'Falconum Tyrocinium. Magister falconum', in *Künstliche, wolgerissene new Figuren von allerlai Jagt und Weidwerck* (Frankfurt, 1592), sig.A4^r. Image used with permission of the Bavarian State Library Image Archive, Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/Art. 1414).

Once a sense of trust between falcon and hawk was achieved, the falconer would take the bird to a secluded spot and begin to train her to return to the fist. During this stage of the taming process, a lure — a leather device made of a pair of bird wings with meat attached (usually from the bird's favoured prey) — would be used to recall the hawk. The falconer would swing the lure above his head and call to the bird so that she would become accustomed to his voice. An example of the lure being used is captured in a portrait of Sir Thomas Coningsby, which will be discussed in greater detail (Figure 3.3). Once the hawk was trained to fly to the lure from a great distance, live prey could be used and the bird's hunting capabilities are trialled in the final stage of the manning process, known as the 'test of unrestricted flight'. The falconer relied upon the hawk's ability to take its prey and, after this was achieved, he would use the lure to reclaim her from this moment of unrestrained freedom before she gorged herself upon her

kill and lost the motivation to return to her keeper. To avoid such disobedience, great care had to be taken to ensure that the bird was sufficiently rewarded for her efforts. While these methods are diligently observed in the manuals, the tractability of falcons and hawks remained a source of anxiety due to their ability, unlike horses and hounds, to fly above the reach of their masters and forget their former allegiance.



Figure 3.3: Unknown artist, *Sir Thomas Coningsby*, 1572, oil on panel, 94 x 70 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London. ©National Portrait Gallery, London.

An important instrument in the taming process and the maintenance of the hawk's obedience is the hood, a fitted cover that is placed over the head and eyes of the bird to temporarily blind it. Medieval and early modern falconry hoods, some of which have survived today, were

particularly beautiful objects, which highlights their centrality to the sport, and their role in conveying the status of the human participants.¹⁰¹ King Henry VIII's inventories list an assortment of falconry hoods, some 'embrowdered' examples of which were displayed on the wall in the closet next to his Chamber at Greenwich Palace.¹⁰² In addition to their aesthetic appeal, hoods have a very practical function in the practice of falconry. Schroer states that 'the hood becomes a central tool of manning, handling and hunting practice', because it allows the falconer to relatively quickly and easily 'influence the perception and attention of the bird'.¹⁰³ Hoods are particularly valued by falconers as they prevent hawks from becoming alarmed due to their heightened sense of sight and quick reflexes, which in turn prevents them from injuring themselves. By disabling their vision, the hood keeps raptors in a calm state, thus allowing the falconer to maintain control.¹⁰⁴ Phillip Glasier notes that this 'hoodwinking' is primarily achieved by fooling the hawk 'into thinking that day is night.'¹⁰⁵ Hooding largely replaced the medieval practice of seeling, a process whereby the eyes of a raptor were sewn shut and the threads tied over their head, until they were gradually loosened to restore the bird's vision. Unlike seeling, hooding allows the keepers to gain control over their hawk as and when needed. However, Emily Aleev-Snow has demonstrated the role of hoods as a mediator between human and raptor; she argues that when a falcon or hawk is unhooded, a transference of agency occurs from falconer to raptor, with the falconer taking a secondary position in the hunt and trusting in the prowess and obedience of their bird.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ See, for example: Hawk's Hood, Great Britain (no. T.151-1965), c.1570-1629, three pieces of leather covered with canvas embroidered with silver and silver-gilt thread and coloured silks in tent, chain and plaited gobelin stitches, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Falcon's hood, Great Britain (No. T.244-1960), early 17th century, leather tooled and gilded, with applied silk velvet embroidered with silver thread, and silk and silver braids and tuft, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹⁰² David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), p.204. A falconry hood in the Ashmolean Museum's collection is said to have belonged to Henry VIII: Hawk's hood, Italian (Florentine), c.1530s/1540s, leather covered in cloth of gold of tissue (brocatelle), with interlace border of silver-gilt purl thread, The Tradescant Collection, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

¹⁰³ Schroer, p.99.

¹⁰⁴ Allan Oswald, *The History and Practice of Falconry* (St Helier, Jersey Channel Islands: Neville Spearman, 1981), p.72.

¹⁰⁵ Phillip Glasier, *Falconry and Hawking*, 2nd edn (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986), p.94.

¹⁰⁶ Emily Aleev-Snow, 'An Early Modern Falconry Hood: The Material Mediator', *Un-Making Things: An Online Creative Platform* (2014) <<http://unmakingthings.rca.ac.uk/2014/an-early-modern-falconry-hoodthe-material-mediator/>> [accessed 23 January 2015].

In addition, jesses and bells are used in falconry to counter the ability of hawks to fly away and be lost.¹⁰⁷ Jesses are usually made of a single strip of leather that is attached to an anklet on the bird's leg, which are used to hold the bird on the fist or tie it to a perch. In the early modern period, jesses were sometimes passed through a varvel, a flat silver or brass ring, that was connected to the end of a long slitless jess as the attachment for a leash, and which acted as a quick release mechanism; when the falconer cast the bird from the fist, the strip would be released and passed through the varvel allowing the hawk to be freed. Nobles engraved their coat of arms on varvels, so if a lost falcon was found, the shield would identify its rightful owner. While radio transmitters are used today to locate lost raptors, early modern falconers had to make do with bells, which were also attached to an anklet on the bird's leg. There were obvious limitations as to how far away the sound of bells could be heard and so many hawks and falcons were inevitably lost. For example, in 1607, Sir George Chaworth wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, informing him that the gentlemen attending to James I, 'cannot appease and satisfy the King why a fair white gyrfalcon of his lately flew away, and cannot be heard of again.'¹⁰⁸ Hoods, jesses and bells therefore exemplify the limits of human power over birds of prey.

Nevertheless, noblemen displayed the control they exercised over their birds of prey as evidence of their ability to master themselves and therefore to also convey their nobility. The portrait of Sir Thomas Coningsby, aged twenty-one (Figure 3.3) exemplifies the connection between falconry and self-control. The portrait features the sitter swinging a lure with the inscriptions 'IVVENTVS' on the left-hand side of the sitter's head and 'INDESIPLINABILE' above the lure. Juventus, the goddess of youth and particularly young men, is attached to the

¹⁰⁷ Glasier states that losing a raptor is an inevitable aspect of falconry and dedicates a chapter to methods of recovering lost hawks and falcons: Glasier, pp.208-216.

¹⁰⁸ 'Sir George Charworth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 29 November 1607', in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, & James I* (London: John Chidley, 1838), 3.212-216 (p.213). Original letter: London, Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot Papers (MSS/3192-3206), fol.122.

word 'indiscipline', with the lure, as a symbol of control, acting as a remedy to disobedience. The hawk is featured in the top left-hand corner, responding to the young nobleman swinging the lure.

Hans Holbein also painted two double portraits of noblemen with birds of prey held securely on their fists in the sixteenth century, which demonstrate the importance of these creatures in the construction of noble identity. The first, featuring Robert Cheseman, Henry VIII's master falconer, includes a hooded gyrfalcon; the second, of an unknown noble man, depicts an unhooded hawk, with the sitter holding the hood in his right hand (Figures 3.4 and 3.5).¹⁰⁹ In both portraits, the raptors' jesses and bells are highly visible, the latter of which are rendered in gold leaf, thus drawing the viewer's eyes to them and highlighting their significance. In the portrait of Cheseman, the jesses are wrapped around both the middle and ring finger of his left hand, which is protected from the prestigious gyrfalcon's sharp talons by his falconry glove. Cheseman's covered left hand is juxtaposed with his bare right hand, with which he affectionately strokes the bird's chest feathers, thus simultaneously indicating the intimacy between man and raptor, as well as the barrier that must be maintained to prevent the bird from harming his human keeper. It is likely that these creatures were included at the sitters' request to convey their wealth and status, however, Holbein may have used the falconry instruments to subtly undermine the noble connotations of falconry. As Susan Foister notes, the portrait of Cheseman was very similar to 'his marginal drawings to the *Praise of Folly*' in which 'Holbein illustrated "stulta nobilitas", foolish nobility, with a man wearing a cap with a falcon on his shoulder'.¹¹⁰ While the falconry instruments included in these portraits visually convey the control that the noblemen exercise over their raptors, they are also subtle reminders that these creatures are fierce hunters whose obedience is uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ For further discussion of these portraits, see Stephanie Buck, *Hans Holbein the Younger: Painter at the Court of Henry VIII* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), pp.100-101, pp.140-143.

¹¹⁰ Susan Foister, *Holbein and England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p.233.



Figure 3.4: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Robert Cheseman*, 1533, oil on panel, 58.8 x 62.8 cm, Mauritshuis Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague.



Figure 3.5: Hans Holbein the Younger, *A Nobleman with a Hawk*, 1542, oil on panel, 24.6 x 18.8 cm, Mauritshuis Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague.

Despite the noble associations of falconry, the belief that mastering a raptor conveyed nobility was mocked in the early modern period. Take, for example, Burton's satirical commentary in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, that 'he is nobody that in the season hath not a hawk on his fist', and his citation of Paulus Jovius's criticism of the '*English nobility for [...] too frequent vse of it, as if they had no other meanes, but hauking and hunting to approue themselues Gentlemen with.*'¹¹¹ While Burton opposes the art of falconry as a substitute for cultivating gentility, he inadvertently acknowledges its popularity for precisely that reason. Nevertheless, as Bruce Boehrer demonstrates, in *Environmental Degradation in Jacobean Drama*, there was a shift in the opinion of hunting in the early modern period which led to 'a decline in the symbolic value of hunting as a marker of personal status and achievements, a decline that progresses despite — and perhaps even because of — increasing efforts to define the hunt as an occupation of the social elite.'¹¹² Hunting and hawking were increasingly criticised for their exclusive nature and for the time nobles spent enjoying them, and contemporary manuals demonstrate an awareness of such criticism. For example, the title page of Turbervile's manual states that his text is intended 'for the only Delight and Pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen', but in his 'Commendation of Hawking', he claims (perhaps satirically), 'I neede not blush; or deeme it my disgrace, / If Hawkes and Spanels I preferre, and set in hiest place.'¹¹³ The 'Verses in commendations of the worke', included in Latham's manual, more forcefully defends falconry against criticism through the assertion: 'If any Criticke into censures breake, / Hee's but a Bussard, we of Hawkes doe speake'.¹¹⁴ Here Latham suggests that critics of falconry were, like the untameable buzzards that could not be used in sport, uncultivated and lacking nobility. However, in so doing, he acknowledges that critics of falconry did exist.

¹¹¹ Burton, sig. Y3^v.

¹¹² Bruce Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation in Jacobean Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.145-146.

¹¹³ Turbervile, sig. B^f.

¹¹⁴ Latham, sig. ¶^v.

The falconry manuals also defend the sport by expressing great respect for the control exercised over falcons and hawks. The ‘Verses in commendation’, featured in Latham’s manual, is a prime example of such praise:

To make the Haggard tame vnto your fist,
To come, to goe, to doe euen what you lift.
And when beyond a mountaines height shee’s flowne,
To cast an ensigne vp, shall fetch her downe:
To circle in her flight vnto your call,
And force her to your voice and luring fall:
Is strangely artfull; and if pleasure bee
In these inferiour things it’s here to see.¹¹⁵

In these verses, Latham emphasises the ‘artful’ manipulation involved in falconry and suggests that the falconer dictates the bird’s movement even when it has been released from its restraints. Turbervile similarly states that the sport ‘deserueth no slender commendation and prayse, being a matter almost quite against the lawes of nature and kynde, for one foule so artificially to vndertake and so cruelly to murther another’.¹¹⁶ While Turbervile commends the ability to tame a creature to attack its own kind, subtle criticism is apparent in its description as ruthless murder, which suggests premeditation as opposed to a kill motivated by animal instinct.

Condemnation of falconry is arguably apparent in Turbervile’s observation that, despite having ‘the whole scope of the heauens, and the circuite of the earth at their pleasure to range and peruse’, tamed hawks will ‘yeelde them selues in such franke maner to the pryson and custodie of man’.¹¹⁷ Turbervile, somewhat oxymoronicallly, portrays hawks as the willing prisoners of their human masters, which conveys regret at the restraint of the birds’ freedom and questions their assumed autonomy. Early modern literary texts also acknowledge this loss of freedom. For example, in Book VI of *The Faerie Queene* (first published in the 1596 edition), Calepine is described running at a bear without his armour impeding him, as ‘like an Hauke, which feeling her selfe freed / From bels and iesses, which did let her flight, / Him seem’d his feet did fly, and

¹¹⁵ Latham, sig.¶f-¶v.

¹¹⁶ Turbervile, sig.A3^r.

¹¹⁷ Turbervile, sig.A3^r.

in their speed delight'.¹¹⁸ Relatedly, Edward Berry argues, the 'bond between falconer and successfully trained falcon [...] blurs the boundaries between free will and subjection, pleasure and obedience; the bird's apparent delight in service creates the illusion of complete independence.'¹¹⁹ In falconry, there is a fine line between willing obedience and enforced servitude, which a seemingly tamed raptor can cross at any moment.

Notably, both the 1575 and 1611 editions of Turbervile's *Booke of Faulconrie* were published alongside George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, with the two texts often being bound together.¹²⁰ Due to the similarity of the woodcuts included in both manuals, they were presumably created by the same artist. The 1575 editions of *The Noble Arte of Venerie* and *The Booke of Faulconrie* feature images of Elizabeth I engaging in both sports, all of which were replaced with images of James I in the 1611 editions. These woodcuts thus exemplify the royal associations of both hunting and hawking and suggest that the manuals targeted an aristocratic audience. Accordingly, Gascoigne's hunting manual, which was a loose translation of Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Vénerie* (1573), expresses the conventional view of this '*sport for gentle bloods*' as an 'exercise highly to be co[m]mended, which doth maintaine the body in helth, the mynd in honest meditation[n]s & yet the substance not greatly decaied.'¹²¹ However, *The Noble Arte of Venerie* has received considerable critical attention in recent years due to the inclusion of four complaint poems by hunted animals — the hart, the hare, the fox and the otter. Charles Bergman and Claus Uhlig argue that these complaint poems were written in response to a growing concern for animal rights in the late sixteenth century, as was discussed in the

¹¹⁸ Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, sig.Cc3^v.

¹¹⁹ Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.107.

¹²⁰ As Gascoigne's name does not appear on the title page of either edition of *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, authorship was attributed to Turbervile. Gascoigne's authorship of *The Noble Arte of Venerie* is now accepted. For further discussion, see Charles Prouty and Ruth Prouty, 'George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, and Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. by James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp.639-664.

¹²¹ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1575), sig.A4^r; Jacques du Fouilloux, *La Vénerie de Jacques du Fouilloux* (Paris, 1573); Gascoigne, sig.A3^r.

introduction to this thesis.¹²² While this may be partly true, the poems are not the only additions Gascoigne makes to his translation of *La Vénerie* and further analysis of these supplementations reveals that the manual engages with the wider social and economic tensions associated with the hunt.¹²³

In her discussion of *The Booke of Faulconrie*, Bates argues that Gascoigne and Turbervile ‘undoubtedly knew each other’ and were ‘closely identified, both belonging to the same literary circle’.¹²⁴ Turbervile’s manual includes criticisms of the ruling elite which are similar, albeit not as overtly expressed, to the complaints found in *The Noble Arte*. In the ‘Commendation of Hawking’, he claims:

This kinde of sport doth banish vice, and vile deuises quight,
When other games do foster faults, and breede but base delight.
No idle thought can harbor well within the Falconers braine,
For though his sportes right pleasant be, yet are they mixt with paine.
The toile he takes to find the fowle, his greedy lust to slay,
The fowle once found cuts off co[n]ceits, & driues il thoughts away.¹²⁵

Comparable to Gascoigne’s praise of hunting, Turbervile emphasises the benefits of falconry in preventing the indulgence of vices, especially when compared to other sports. Nevertheless, he also acknowledges that the falconer suffers to provide this sport for his noble master. This aspect of the commendatory poem prompts a re-reading of the Horatian quotation contained on the manual’s title page: ‘NOCET EMPTA DOLORES VOLVPTAS’ (‘Pleasure brought by pain is injurious’), which suggests that the joy taken in killing creatures is dangerous for the individuals who engage in such sports, and arguably also refers to the labour of the falconers who provide this entertainment for their masters. It is perhaps deliberately ambiguous as to whose ‘greedy lust’ the sport is intended to slay: the fowl’s or that of the noblemen who partake

¹²² See Charles Bergman, ‘A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England’, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2007), pp.53-73; Claus Uhlig, “‘The Sobbing Deer’: *As You Like it*, II.i.21-66 and the Historical Context’, *Renaissance Drama*, 3 (1970), 98-103.

¹²³ For further discussion of Gascoigne’s representation of the hunt, see Bates, pp.111-114.

¹²⁴ Bates, p.145.

¹²⁵ Turbervile, sig.B^v.

in falconry. While on the surface Turbervile's manual appears to uphold the noble associations of falconry, it also challenges this through the fact that it is essentially a blood sport that relies upon the toil of human servants.¹²⁶

It is important to note here that, while falconry was restricted to nobles and wealthy individuals, its practice among the lower classes is likely to have been underrepresented in contemporary literature. As was the case with hunting, common people may have engaged illegally in the sport with hawks that they had either purchased, found, or stolen, and falconry manuals would have provided the necessary advice on how to train and care for these birds, as well as glossaries for the key terms used in the sport.¹²⁷ Through their accessibility to wider social classes than those who traditionally participated in falconry, the manuals present the possibility of nobility being learnt rather than inherited.

Although Shakespeare was not a member of the nobility, he demonstrates a working knowledge of falconry through the frequency and technical accuracy with which he depicts the sport throughout his works — an accuracy that was arguably aided through access to falconry manuals.¹²⁸ Rob Wakeman has demonstrated that Shakespeare engaged with criticisms of the hunt in a comparable manner to Gascoigne.¹²⁹ It is plausible, therefore, that the playwright not only read Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, but also Turbervile's *Booke of Faulconrie* and drew inspiration from his evident ambivalence concerning the restriction of the raptors' freedom and his figuration of falconry as 'a game of state'. The following sections of this

¹²⁶ Criticism of falconry and hunting, and the treatment of the human servants that facilitated these activities, is apparent in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (first acted in 1603 and published in 1607). This play challenges the view that falconry conveyed nobility when a hawking match between Sir Francis and Sir Charles degenerates into chaos, leading to the murder of Sir Francis's huntsman and falconer: Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, ed. by Brian Scobie (London: A & C Black, 2007), Scene III. For further discussion of the hawking match in this play, see Bohrer, *Environmental Degradation*, pp.159-163.

¹²⁷ See Oggins, p.110.

¹²⁸ Maurice Pope, 'Shakespeare's Falconry', *Shakespeare Survey*, 44 (1992), 131-143; Archibald Geikie, *The Birds of Shakespeare* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1916), p.9; James Edmund Harting, *The Birds of Shakespeare* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1965), p.21.

¹²⁹ Rob Wakeman, 'Shakespeare, Gascoigne, and the Hunter's Uneasy Conscience', *Exemplaria*, 29 (2017), 136-156.

chapter will explore why these creatures, and the sport in which they were used, were of such importance to Shakespeare in defining himself as a gentleman-writer, and how he employed the falconry trope to explore sovereignty and tyranny.

3.2 The ‘Upstart Crow’: Falconry and Shakespeare’s Gentlemanly Status

It has been suggested that Shakespeare drew on falconry more than any other playwright of the early modern period.¹³⁰ Whether or not this is true, birds of prey do appear to occupy a special place in his canon. In her study of Shakespeare’s birds, Lavonia Stockelbach notes that ‘[t]here are over a hundred references to falcons and hawks.’¹³¹ While Shakespeare had an apparent preoccupation with falcons, he is more commonly connected with the maligned crow. This association is due to the depiction of Shakespeare in *Greene’s Groats-worth of Wit* (1592) as,

an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute Iohannes fac totum, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrey.¹³²

This analogy primarily draws on Aesop’s fable of the bird in borrowed feathers, to suggest that Shakespeare the actor not only performed plays by other writers but also appropriated their work to rise above them, thus comparing him to the lazy and scavenging crows that were regarded as vermin in the early modern period.¹³³ This image conflicted with the gentlemanly status Shakespeare was seeking to construct for himself. Indeed, Shakespeare may have actively rejected his characterisation as a crow by instead associating himself with the princely falcon through the Shakespeare family’s coat of arms, which his father John Shakespeare was granted in 1596.

¹³⁰ Gerald Lascelles has listed the numerous falconry metaphors used by Shakespeare: Gerald Lascelles, ‘Falconry’, in *Shakespeare’s England: An Account of the Life & Manners of his Age*, ed. by C. T. Onions, 2 vols: 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), pp.351-366. See also, John Howard Schultz, ‘A Glossary of Shakespeare’s Hawking Language’, *Studies in English*, 18 (1938), 174-205.

¹³¹ Lavonia Stockelbach, *The Birds of Shakespeare* (Montclair: Montclair Printing Co., 1949), p.7.

¹³² Robert Greene, *Greenes Groats-worth of Wit* (London, 1592), sig.F^v.

¹³³ ‘Destruction of Birds and Vermin’, p.276.

Evidence recently discovered by Heather Wolfe (the Folger Shakespeare Library's Curator of Manuscripts) indicates that, although it was Shakespeare's father John Shakespeare who was granted this coat of arms in 1596, Shakespeare was involved in its application and a later dispute over its legitimacy.¹³⁴ In 1602, Ralph Brooke, the York Herald, reviewed twenty-three applications for coats of arms and claimed that they had been wrongly granted by Sir William Dethick, the Garter King of Arms, to 'mean persons' for financial reward; Shakespeare was included on this list as a 'player'.¹³⁵ It is there plausible that Shakespeare was also involved in the design of his family's coat of arms, particularly the crest which comprises a silver falcon *volant* (Figure 3.6). Katherine Duncan-Jones notes that the falcon is not only preparing to take flight but also 'appears to perform the movement known to falconers as "the shaking", in which the bird opens its wings wide and shakes them just before taking off into the air.'¹³⁶ As the bird clasps a spear in its wing, Shakespeare's coat of arms is a witty pun on its bearer's name — 'Shake-spear'. In addition, the shield is highly ostentatious, being covered in gold and silver, with the exception of a black stripe, on which is laid a second silver-tipped 'golden spear [...]' as a "charge", thus placing further emphasis on its inbuilt pun.¹³⁷ Duncan-Jones suggests that as *Greene's Groats-worth of Wit* was reprinted in 1596 'without modification', Shakespeare may have been spurred on to 'establish his family's armigerous status' through the possession of a coat of arms.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ For more details, see Jennifer Schuessler, 'Shakespeare: Actor. Playwright. Social Climber', *The New York Times Online*, 29 June 2016 <<https://nyti.ms/29a7tdw>> [accessed 15 November 2017]. For a more general discussion of Shakespeare's coat of arms and its legacy, see C. W. Scott-Giles, *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1950), pp.11-41.

¹³⁵ Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms in London* (London: HMSO, 1967), p.188. Documents related to this dispute are available to view online via Shakespeare Documented: Ralph Brooke, *A Noate of some few Coates and Creasts lately come to my hands. Geuen by William Dethick* (c.1602), London, College of Arms, MS Dethick's Grants X, fol.28^r <<https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/exhibition/document/ralph-brookes-compilation-arms-granted-william-dethick-copy-arms-shakespeare>> [accessed 12 July 2018].

¹³⁶ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan, 1592-1623* (London: Methuen, 2011), p.107.

¹³⁷ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, p.111.

¹³⁸ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, pp.99, 105.



Figure 3.6: William Smith, 'Coat of arms of W[il]ia[m] Shakespeare', in *The Book of Coates & Creasts. Promptuarium Armorum* (1602-1616), Boston, MA, The New England Historic Genealogical Society, Harold Bowditch Collection, MSS 1180, R. Stanton Avery Special Collections, p.66.

The republication of *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* may not have been the only reason for Shakespeare's inclusion of a falcon for the crest of his coat of arms. Birds were of special significance to writers because, as Bach argues, they 'produced their work using bird feathers as pens and conceived of writing as imaginative flight.'¹³⁹ In her detailed discussion of quills, Bach suggests that they were 'part of a culture of writing that related writing and the imagination to flight, and when writing with quills, humans consciously took on the powers they attributed to creatures who could actually fly.'¹⁴⁰ While quills were usually made of goose feathers, Bach suggests that the "neb" of the pen not only shared the name of bird beak, it could also be fashioned [...] after particular kinds of bird beaks'.¹⁴¹ Eagle and hawk templates,

¹³⁹ Bach, p.4. For more general discussion of birds and the human imagination, see Jeremy Mynott, *Birdscapes: Birds in Our Imagination and Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ Bach, p.42.

¹⁴¹ Bach, pp.42, 48.

in particular, indicate ‘the easy associations people made between writing with a quill and the use of weapons.’¹⁴² Indeed, both of the spears that feature in Shakespeare’s coat of arms double as weapons and writing tools because their silver-tips, as Duncan-Jones notes, appear ‘to be scored in the middle’, like the nib of a pen.¹⁴³ Duncan-Jones also acknowledges that birds were also associated with actors as ‘[f]eathery hats or head-dresses were a major distinguishing mark of the player.’¹⁴⁴ The falcon would therefore have been of great symbolic importance to Shakespeare in conveying, and perhaps defending, his occupation as a player, playwright and poet.

In heraldry, falcons also had strong royal associations. Most notably, Anne Boleyn, ‘used for her device a silver falcon, crowned gold, holding a gold sceptre in its right talon’, which Elizabeth I later adopted as one of her heraldic badges.¹⁴⁵ The coat of arms belonging to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare’s patron, also featured four silver falcons on a white background.¹⁴⁶ Duncan-Jones interprets the combined symbolism of the coat of arms as indicating that Shakespeare ‘is of high rank, and well able to defend himself, should his honour be impugned, whether with weapon or pen.’¹⁴⁷ Through the inclusion of a silver falcon in his coat of arms and the doubling of the two spears as pens, Shakespeare made a robust claim to gentlemanly status, which was predicated on his status as a writer; this claim is further exemplified by its accompanying motto, ‘Non Sanz Droict’ (‘Not Without Right’).

Shakespeare’s social aspirations did not go unremarked by his fellow playwrights. In 1598, the Lord Chamberlain’s Men performed Ben Jonson’s satiric comedy *Every Man in His Humour*, which mocks Shakespeare’s coat of arms in a less obvious manner than its sequel, *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599). In *Every Man Out*, Sogliardo (who is undoubtedly a caricature of

¹⁴² Bach, p.48.

¹⁴³ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, p.108.

¹⁴⁴ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), p.47.

¹⁴⁵ J. H. Pinches and R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London: Heraldry Today, 1974), pp.146, 155.

¹⁴⁶ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, p.106.

¹⁴⁷ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crown*, p.108.

Shakespeare), acquires a coat of arms for ‘thirty pound’ with the motto, ‘*Not without mustard*’ — a clear mockery of the excessive gold used in the shield of Shakespeare’s coat of arms and its motto (III.i.215, 245).¹⁴⁸ In *Every Man in*, Jonson mocked Shakespeare’s use of a falcon for his crest. However, this may not have been motivated by jealousy but rather good-natured ribaldry at Shakespeare’s expense, who likely performed in the play. Shakespeare, therefore, willingly participated in the mockery of his newly acquired coat of arms and its claims of gentlemanly status. Indeed, he arguably mocked himself through the characters of Launce in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Launcelot Gobbo in *The Merchant of Venice*, with their names being a play upon ‘Shake-spear’.

In the 1616 Folio of Ben Jonson’s works, ‘WILL SHAKESPEARE’ is listed first as one of ‘principall Comoedians’ in *Every Man in His Humour*.¹⁴⁹ As he is listed first, it is likely that he played the aged gentleman, Edward Knowell, who in the opening scene of play expresses his anger that his nephew Stephen wants to borrow ‘a book of the sciences of hawking and hunting’, as he has bought a ‘a hawk, and a hood and bells and all’ (I.i.30-31, 33-35).¹⁵⁰ Knowell is particularly infuriated by Stephen’s statement that if ‘a man have not skill in the hawking and hunting languages nowadays, I’ll not give a rush for him. They are more studied than the Greek, or the Latin’ (I.i.37-39). Knowell responds:

Have you not yet found means enough to waste
That which your friends have left you, but you must
Go cast away your money on a kite,
And know not how to keep it, when you ha’ done?
O, it is comely! This will make you a gentleman?
Well, cousin, well, I see you are e’en past hope
Of all reclaim. (I.i.51-58)

¹⁴⁸ Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

¹⁴⁹ Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), sig.F6^v.

¹⁵⁰ Ben Jonson, ‘Every Man in His Humour’, in *The Roaring Girl and other City Comedies*, ed. by James Knowles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.141-223.

The emphasis in Knowell's rebuttal is that Stephen has purchased 'a kite' which, as we have seen, was deemed an untameable scavenger and held in contempt.¹⁵¹ Knowell furthers this insult when he suggests that Stephen is 'past hope / Of all reclaim', using the traditional term for taming a hawk to suggest that his nephew is as recalcitrant as a kite or a buzzard. The element of discipline which was usually associated with falconry is reversed; Stephen's purchase of a hawk to enforce his status is criticised by his uncle as evidence of his unruliness. Through the voice of a social superior, the play effectively challenges the ability to transcend one's social status through the knowledge and practice of falconry.

If Shakespeare did play the role of Edward Knowell, this suggests that he was happy to mock his attempt to transcend his social status as a mere 'player' through the acquisition of a coat of arms that featured a falcon as its crest. Notably, Knowell also laments that his son is 'Dreaming on nought but idle poetry, / That fruitless and unprofitable art' (I.i.17-18). Combined with the falconry imagery, these lines suggest that *Every Man in* gently taunts Shakespeare for his social ambitions, ambitions which Jonson, as a former bricklayer, likely shared.¹⁵² It was Jonson, after all, who highlighted the symbolic meaning behind Shakespeare's crest in his memorial poem to the First Folio:

In his well torned, and true-filed lines:
In each of which, he seems to shake a Lance,
As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance.
Sweet Swan of *Auon*!¹⁵³

While Jonson confuses his birds here, his description nonetheless provides evidence that the inclusion of a spear/lance in Shakespeare's arms referred to the moralistic purpose of his works, with his pen as the weapon he employs against human vices. While Shakespeare was probably happy to poke fun at his newly-acquired coat of arms and pretensions of nobility in Jonson's plays, he frequently employs the falconry trope throughout his own works, as the following

¹⁵¹ Geikie, pp. 41-45.

¹⁵² Mark Eccles, 'Ben Jonson, "Citizen and Bricklayer"', *Notes & Queries*, 35 (1998), 445-446.

¹⁵³ Ben Jonson, 'To the Memory of my Beloued, the Avthor Mr William Shakespeare', in William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (London, 1623), sig.A4^r-A4^v (sig.A4^v).

sections of this chapter will show, to explore methods of statecraft and critique political corruption.

3.3 'Talking of hawking, nothing else': Princely Falcons in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*

In Act Two, Scene Two of 2 *Henry VI*, a hawking match is used to reveal King Henry's ineptitude for governance and the political collusions of his wife, Queen Margaret, with his nobles. Margaret emerges as the ultimate falconer, who exhibits prowess in managing the less savory aspects of ruling in order to defend the crown against its enemies. However, these political machinations ultimately lead to the deposition and murder of Henry VI and his son, Prince Edward, thus bringing about the eradication of the royal line. The falconry trope is thus used in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* to reveal the destructiveness of deception and treachery in governance when it is motivated by greed and ambition, thus undermining the sport's noble associations.

The 1594 Quarto text of Act Two, Scene Two enforces Margaret's control over the affairs of state through a stage direction that is unique to this version of the play: 'Enter the King and Queene with her Hawke on her fist'.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, the 1623 Folio states, '*Enter the King, Queene, Protector, Cardinall, and Suffolke, with Faulkners hallowing.*'¹⁵⁵ The symbolically loaded image of a hawk tied to the Queen's fist would visually convey her ability to govern, sometimes through nefarious means. To further enforce her capability to rule, Margaret boasts of her ability to make her falcon, Old Joan, hunt on command, declaring 'the wind was very high / And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out' (II.i.3-4). The implied sense of this statement is that while the odds were against Margaret's hawk engaging with its prey, she overcomes her bird's reluctance, with 'gone out' meaning to engage the enemy. The name of the hawk arguably alludes to Joan of Arc, who was captured and killed by the English in 1 *Henry VI*, thus highlighting the military associations of the sport and Margaret's ability to subdue her enemies.

¹⁵⁴ William Shakespeare, *The First Part of the Contention Betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* (London, 1594), sig.C^v.

¹⁵⁵ William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (London, 1623), sig.M5^r.

However, the focus in this scene is more on political intrigue and the calculated defeat of opponents through cunning as opposed to outward shows of force. Just as the Queen alters the natural inclinations of her hawk, so too does she successfully manipulate the removal of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's Lord Protector, from power.

Margaret's command over King Henry VI and his nobles, reflects the view expressed in Edward Hall's *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* (1548) that:

the Quene his wife, was a woman of a greate witte, and yet of no greater witte, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belongyng to a man, full and flowyng: of witte and wilnesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, [...]. This woman perceiuyng that her husbande did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thyng by thaduisse and counsaill of Hu[m]frey duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not muche on the auctorithy and gouernaunce of the realme, determined with her self, to take vpon her the rule and regiment, bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome, & to depriue & euict out of al rule and auctorithy, thesaid duke, then called the lord protector of the realme[.]¹⁵⁶

Hall's description of Margaret is markedly similar to Elizabeth I's famous declaration that, while she was perceived to have the 'bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman', she had 'the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too'.¹⁵⁷ Given that falconry does not require the falconer to have great physical strength, in the way that horsemanship does, it is perhaps not a coincidence that Shakespeare used the falconry trope to represent the power of a queen, especially during the reign of Elizabeth I, who used her mother's white falcon as a heraldic badge. Notably, Anne Boleyn's coronation celebrations included an enactment of her badge, with the white falcon being described as 'Of bodie small' but 'Of power Regall'.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* (London, 1548), sig.Bb2^v.

¹⁵⁷ Anon., *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra. Mysteries of State and Government* (London, 1654), sig.L12^v.

¹⁵⁸ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, 5 vols: 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.33-35, 35.

While Margaret is motivated by her desire for power, her manipulative capabilities are estimable.

Queen Margaret's representation as an apt falconer also undermines the common association of the falconer as male and the falcon as female. Almond has demonstrated that women actively participated in hunting in the medieval and early modern periods, and suggests that falconry was a favoured sport of aristocratic women who had the 'necessary time, as well as the great patience and kind understanding required to successfully train hawks and falcons.'¹⁵⁹ As was discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Elizabeth I was a keen falconer and enjoyed the sport until the last years of her life, as is evidenced by the 1602 proclamation that restricted falconry near her palaces so as to preserve game for the aerial pursuits of the Queen's hawks. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was also said to take 'singular delight' in watching hawks fly.¹⁶⁰ It is perhaps ironic that during Mary's imprisonment in England, Elizabeth placed her cousin under the guardianship of her then royal falconer Ralph Sadler, and was angered when she discovered that Sadler had taken Mary hawking during her imprisonment, thus failing to keep her mewed like a hawk.¹⁶¹ Hunting manuals also acknowledge that women participated in falconry, for example, female merlins are assigned to ladies in the *Booke of St Albans*, a text which was written by a woman, and the 1575 edition of Turbervile's *Booke of Faulconrie* includes images of Elizabeth I hawking.¹⁶² Contemporary participation in falconry by women, especially royals such as Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart, allows interpretations of the symbolism of falconry to extend beyond love and companionship to the nature of ambition and power, regardless of gender.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Almond, *Daughters of Artemis: The Huntress in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), p.58. See also, Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, revised edn (London: Routledge, 2003), p.152.

¹⁶⁰ Agnes Strickland (ed.), *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: Henry Colburn, 1848), pp.351, 402.

¹⁶¹ Strickland, pp.401-402.

¹⁶² Berners, sig.E3^r.

It is important to note here that the gendered relations between falconer and falcon were politicised in the early modern period, as is evidenced by the subversive cartoon of Queen Elizabeth I that was displayed in Paris in 1583. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the cartoon portrayed Elizabeth astride a horse with her skirts pulled up and defecating on the Francis, Duke of Anjou, who is depicted below the Queen, ‘in his best apparel havynge upon his fiste a hawke which continually bayted and kowlde never make her sytt styl’.¹⁶³ As the marriage negotiations between Anjou and Elizabeth collapsed in February 1582, this image suggests that Elizabeth had dishonoured the young French Prince by rejecting his proposal. While the cartoon presents a highly sexualised and scatologically grotesque image of the English Queen, by depicting her both astride a horse and as a recalcitrant hawk that refuses to be tamed, it suggests that she had the upper hand in the marriage negotiations with Anjou. The falconry image used in this cartoon also encapsulates the political manoeuvring and diplomatic negotiations that Elizabeth was forced to engage in as an unmarried female monarch, whose legitimacy had been challenged by the Catholic rulers of Europe, in order to secure allies and protect her sovereignty.

Likewise, the falconry imagery used in *2 Henry VI* signifies the competition for power amongst those in the King’s inner circle. It is made clear in Act One, Scene Three, that Queen Margaret perceives the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester to be a threat to her sovereignty. She questions why she as ‘a queen in title and style’, ‘must be made a subject to a duke’, and complains that the Duchess presents herself ‘like an empress’ and is mistaken ‘for the Queen’ (I.iii.50, 51, 79, 80). Margaret, with Suffolk’s help, achieves the first step in Gloucester’s downfall by using the Duchess of Gloucester’s ‘canker of ambitious thoughts’, to entice her into committing treason by ‘dealing with witches and with conjurors’ (I.ii.18, II.ii.163). Suffolk describes the entrapment of the Duchess through bird imagery:

Madam, myself have limed a bush for her,
And placed a choir of such enticing birds

¹⁶³ ‘Edward Stafford to Thomas Walsingham, 17 November 1583’, Kew, National Archives, SP 78/10/79.

That she will light to listen to the lays,
And never mount to trouble you again. (I.iii.89-92)

The Duchess's ambitions leave her vulnerable to Suffolk's trap and she is reduced to a bird that Margaret sets her hawks on. Directly before the hawking scene, the audience witnesses the Duchess's arrest for consulting with the witch, Margery Jourdin, who prophesises Henry's 'violent death' (I.iv.31).

Unlike his wife, Gloucester is not guilty of ambitions for power. Nevertheless, his enemies use the performance of his birds during the hawking match in Act Two, Scene One to accuse the Lord Protector of desiring the throne. The King, oblivious to the metaphorical implications of the falconry match, praises Gloucester for his bird's performance:

But what a point, my lord, your falcon made
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!
To see how God in all his creatures works!
Yea, man and birds are fain of climbing high. (II.i.5-8)

Henry's unwitting comparison between the propensity of raptors to ascend to the heavens and unlimited ambition is seized upon by Suffolk as evidence of Gloucester's aspirations. Suffolk states, 'My Lord Protector's hawks do tower so well, / They know their master loves to be aloft, / And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch' (II.i.10-12). Beaufort similarly accuses Gloucester: 'Thy heaven is on earth, thine eyes and thoughts / Beat on a crown, the treasure of thy heart' (II.i.19-20). The falconry term 'beat' alludes to a hawk beating its wings to carry off its prey, thus enforcing Beaufort's suggestion that Gloucester desires Henry's crown. When Henry VI questions the exchange, Gloucester informs him that they are 'Talking of hawking, nothing else, my lord' (II.i.49). While Gloucester may not be the true threat to King Henry's rule, he correctly interprets Suffolk and the Cardinal's veiled accusations. In contrast, the King's naivety demonstrates his inaptitude for the 'game of state'.

Gregory M. Colón Semenza argues that, due to contemporary criticism of the time nobles spent hunting and hawking, 'the suggestion that two of the most powerful men in the realm *really*

were discussing hawking, and nothing else, would have been as troubling to Elizabethans as the actual feud between Gloucester and Beauford itself.’¹⁶⁴ Semenza consequently suggests that ‘the relative uselessness of hawking in the lives of the English statesmen indicates the equal uselessness and even dangerousness of personal ambition to the stability of the state.’¹⁶⁵ Indeed, it is the competing ambitions of Henry’s nobles, combined with his inability to manage the affairs of state, which lead to his deposition and the subsequent murder of both himself and his son.

Christopher Marlowe’s *Edward II* (c.1592) is also concerned with the instability brought about by an incapable ruler. Edward loses the loyalty of his nobles, and Marlowe uses the falconry trope to convey the King’s awareness of their plots against his favourite Piers Gaveston. Awaiting Gaveston’s return from Ireland, Edward insists that his nobles explain the heraldic devices they carry. Mortimer Junior explains that his device represents,

A lofty cedar tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top branches kingly eagles perch,
And by the bark a canker creeps me up
And gets into the highest bough of all. (II.ii.16-19)

And Lancaster clarifies that his device features,

a flying fish
Which all the other fishes deadly hate,
And, being pursued, it takes the air:
No sooner is it up, but there’s a fowl
That seizeth it. This fish, my lord, I bear (II.ii.23-27).

Mortimer’s statement compares England to the cedar tree, suggesting that Gaveston is a cancer that will spread from the root to the highest branch, threatening the eagles (the nobles) that ‘perch’ there. Similarly, Lancaster’s device suggests that Gaveston is a flying fish, hated by all others, that will eventually be killed by a fowl. Although fowl usually refers to the prey of

¹⁶⁴ Gregory M. Colón Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), p.61.

¹⁶⁵ Colón Semenza, p.63.

raptors, it can be applied in a wider sense to all feathered vertebrates.¹⁶⁶ For example, in his *Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, Edward Topsell states that hares are preyed upon by ‘Eagles and other rauening foules’.¹⁶⁷ Lancaster’s heraldic devise therefore expresses a threat against Gaveston’s life. This is reinforced by Lancaster’s motto, ‘*Undique mors est*’ meaning ‘Death is on all sides’ (II.ii.28). In comparison, Mortimer’s motto, ‘*Aeque tandem*,’ which translates as ‘Equally in height’, alludes to Gaveston’s social aspirations and ambition (II.ii.20). Alternatively, it may also suggest that the nobles deem themselves as equal to their sovereign, which is emphasised by their self-designation as ‘kingly eagles’.

In response, Edward threatens, ‘you the eagles, soar ye ne’er so high, / I have the jesses that will pull you down’ (II.ii.39-40). Edward denies the nobles’ claim of equality by representing himself as the falconer who keeps his hawks on the perch or the fist by holding onto the jesses tethered to their ankles. Edward suggests that he can thus control the height at which they ascend. Edward’s self-proclaimed command over his nobles compares to Queen Margaret’s symbolic entrance in the Quarto version of *2 Henry VI*, with a hawk on her fist. However, falconers were not able to pull their raptors ‘down’ once they were released from their restraints and could only hope that they would return to the fist voluntarily out of love and obedience. Edward’s threats are empty as he cannot control the height to which his nobles can fly. Notably, Turbervile describe the eagle as ‘a fugitiue, and a rangler’, due to its unruly and generally untameable nature, thus implying a traitorous nature.¹⁶⁸ The nobles’ self-designation as ‘eagles’ is therefore appropriate as it foreshadows their eventual betrayal of Edward. Rather than enforcing his power, the falconry imagery Marlowe employs in *Edward II* undermines the King’s control over his nobles. Edward is eventually removed from power and ‘mewed [...] in a prison’, like a hawk, while his ‘nobles rule’ (V.i.18, 28).

¹⁶⁶ ‘fowl, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2015), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/74043>> [accessed 28 April 2015].

¹⁶⁷ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), sig.Aa4^r.

¹⁶⁸ Turbervile, sig.A5^v.

Like Edward II, Gloucester's awareness of the vendettas against him does not protect him from falling victim to the traps laid by his enemies. An array of animal imagery is used to falsely represent Gloucester as a threat to the King in order to sanction his arrest. Queen Margaret informs Henry: 'note that he is near you in descent, / And should you fall, he as the next will mount' (III.i.18-22). Margaret acknowledges Gloucester's royal blood and the threat he poses to Henry VI's sovereignty by suggesting that he will 'mount' above Henry, like a high-flying raptor. Despite Henry's awareness that 'Gloucester is as innocent / From meaning treason to our royal person / As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove', he allows his Lord Protector to be arrested (III.i.69-71). Without Gloucester's protection, Henry is consequently left exposed to the Duke of York's political machinations, which culminate in Henry signing away his son's inheritance in *3 Henry VI*.

When York proposes murdering Gloucester to Margaret, Suffolk and the Cardinal, he justifies it by claiming: 'Were't not all one an empty eagle were set / To guard the chicken from a hungry kite, / As place Duke Humphrey for the king's protector?' (III.248-250). York's warning is ironic as the King realises in *3 Henry VI* that York is the true 'empty eagle', who he claims will 'Tire on the flesh of me and my son' (I.i.275, 276). York's disloyalty to his sovereign is forcefully conveyed through the imagery of him as a voracious eagle, driven by his appetite for power, tearing at the defenceless bodies of Henry and his heir, as raptors do the flesh of their prey. Henry is thus presented as a useless lump of meat, and it is left to Queen Margaret, to be 'Reveng'd [...] on that hateful Duke' (I.i.273).

Margaret continues in the role of capable falconer and is successful in defeating the eagle-like York. When she presents the rebel's head to King Henry he responds: 'To see this sight, it irks my very soul' (II.ii.6). The King's reaction causes Clifford to urge:

My gracious liege, this too much lenity
And harmful pity must be laid aside.
To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?
Not to the beast that would usurp their den. (II.ii.9-12)

To embolden the King to defend his throne against his enemies, Clifford urges Henry to emulate the majestic lion. However, as Audrey Yoder notes, '[e]ven when Clifford speaks of Henry as a kingly lion, he qualifies the word with "gentle"'.¹⁶⁹ Clifford consequently turns to creatures that Henry could be more accurately identified with, informing the King that even 'doves will peck in safeguard of their brood', and pleading, 'For shame my liege, make them your precedent' (II.ii.18, 33). Henry fails to take Clifford's advice and is imprisoned in the final scene of a play, like a 'bird that hath been limed in a bush', and suffering under the knowledge that he failed to protect his son, Prince Edward, who 'was lim'd, was caught, and kill'd' like a 'fowl' (V.vi.13, 17, 19).

The falconry imagery employed in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* does not represent a cultivation of gentility but conversely a regression into barbarity. The slippage between members of the ruling elite as falconers, raptors and fowls conveys the brutish nature of the highest ranks of society, rather than their superiority. Shakespeare developed these ideas further under James I's reign in *Macbeth*, through which he employs the falconry trope to represent the dangers of an ambitious noble usurping the throne and reigning over his subjects with terror.

3.4 'A falcon towering in her pride of place': Falconry and Tyranny in *Macbeth*

Like the ambitious nobles who are compared to wild and ravenous raptors in Marlowe's *King Edward II* and Shakespeare's 2 and 3 *King Henry VI*, Macbeth represents a disloyal subject who, overcome with his desire for power, murders his sovereign. The play employs the falconry trope to explore the danger faced by monarchs who fail to secure the obedience of their subjects and discern plots against their power. These ideas would have been even more pertinent in the early years of James's reign as the King of England which were plagued by conspiracies, culminating in the Gunpowder Plot on 5th November 1605. The preoccupation with disloyalty,

¹⁶⁹ Audrey Yoder, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal* (New York: AMS, 1975), p.50.

treason and regicide in *Macbeth* is undoubtedly connected to the failed attempt to assassinate James I.¹⁷⁰

The first act of *Macbeth* presents the betrayal of Duncan by Macdonwald and the unnamed Thane of Cawdor. Describing Cawdor's treachery, Duncan claims,

There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face:
He was a gentleman on whom I built
An absolute trust — (I.iv.11-14).

The opening act therefore highlights Duncan's inability to discern the plots against his sovereignty. In contrast, 'brave Macbeth' is presented as a noble warrior who defeats the 'rebel' Macdonwald (I.i.16, 10). Macbeth also portrays himself as the ideal servant of the King when he declares: 'The service and the loyalty I owe, / In doing it, pays itself. Your Highness' part / Is to receive our duties', which he ironically claims is 'doing everything / Safe toward your love and honour' (I.iv.22-24, 26-27). Macbeth's self-professed loyalty to his sovereign, however, is corrupted by his ambition for power. When Macbeth questions his motivations for murdering Duncan, he admits 'I have no spur / To prick the sides of my intent, but only / Vaulting ambition (I.vii.25-27). Shakespeare uses the equine trope here to imagine Macbeth as the horse 'which o'er leaps itself' (I.vii.27). As we saw in the previous chapter, the image of an unbridled horse throwing off its rider indicates ensuing chaos. Shakespeare develops this animal imagery further through the falconry trope to convey the dangers of a disloyal and predatory subject usurping the throne.

Discussing the disruption of the natural order caused by Duncan's murder, the Old Man declares:

¹⁷⁰ For further discussion of the impact of the Gunpowder Plot on Shakespeare's works see Victoria Buckley, 'Patterns of Mischief: The Impact of the Gunpowder Plot on the Jacobean Stage 1605-16' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2012); Andrew Hadfield, 'Shakespeare and Politics in the Time of the Gunpowder Plot', *The Review of Politics*, 78 (2016), 571-588; James Shapiro, *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), pp.137-154.

'Tis unnatural,
Even like the deed that's done. On Tuesday last,
A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and kill'd. (II.iv.12-13)

The conflict between the mousing owl and the noble falcon has several applications. Firstly, it can represent Macbeth as the 'mousing owl', a bird of prey which was largely viewed as untameable, who disrupts the natural hierarchy by killing a superior creature, King Duncan, here represented by the falcon. Shakespeare adapted this scene from Holinshed's account of the murder of King Duff by Donwald (a central source for the plot of *Macbeth*), which prompted a series of supernatural events, including the 'horses in Lothian being of singuler beautie and swiftnesse [that] did eate their owne flesh' and 'a Sparhauke also strangled by an Owle.'¹⁷¹ By changing the 'sparhawke' to a 'falcon' Shakespeare draws closer associations to kingship as, according to *The Booke of St Albans*, gyrfalcons and falcon gentles were the appropriate raptors for kings and princes, while sparrowhawks were assigned to priests.

The Old Man's statement may also relate to a popular legend recounted in Abraham Fleming's translation of John Caius's *Of Englishe Dogges* (1576), which was attributed to King Henry VII's reign:

hauing a notable and an excellent fayre Falcon, it fortun'd that the kings Falconers, in the presence and hearing of his grace, highly commended his Maiesties Falcon, saying that it feared not to intermeddle with an Eagle, it was so venturous a byrde and so mighty, which when the King harde, he charged that the Falcon should be killed without delay.¹⁷²

Caius suggests that this order was given as an 'example for all subiectes worthy remembraunce, to admonishe them that it is no aduantage to them to rebell against ye regiment of their ruler, but to keepe them within the limits of Loyaltie.'¹⁷³ This account emphasises the importance attached to hierarchies within the natural world and their bearing on the human order, particularly when it concerned creatures that symbolised royalty. Comparable to the uncertainty

¹⁷¹ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, sig.O^v.

¹⁷² John Caius, *Of Englishe Dogges*, trans. by Abraham Fleming (London, 1576), sig.E^v.

¹⁷³ Caius, sig.E^v.

surrounding the obedience of raptors in falconry manuals, Caius's account conveys a similar anxiety about the sovereign's control of his subjects.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Shakespeare's falconry imagery in *Macbeth* was arguably also influenced by Drayton's satirical poem *The Owle*, which used the hierarchical nature of the bird kingdom to criticise the court of James I. Other than the owl, the 'manly *falcon*' is the only bird that receives a wholly positive representation in the poem, as it is claimed that on his 'courage lyes / The Kingdomes safetie, which abroad doth rome, / By forraigne warres to keepe vs safe at home.'¹⁷⁴ The falcon is therefore portrayed as a worthy warrior that protects the commonwealth of birds, just as Macbeth protected Duncan's sovereignty by defeating Macdonwald. While it is commonly assumed that Duncan is represented by the falcon and Macbeth by the mousing owl, the combination of these two birds arguably represents Macbeth's self-destruction, with the mousing owl's attack on the falcon conveying Macbeth's regression from a noble bird into an ignoble raptor through Duncan's murder. That the falconry trope denotes Macbeth's self-slaughter, and foreshadows his eventual downfall, is supported by the striking account of Duncan's horses breaking free from their stalls and eating one another (II.iv.14-18).

Notably, Drayton acknowledges both the stately and tyrannical associations of hawks in the second part of his *Poly-Olbion* (1622), Drayton gives a detailed account of flying at the brook and describes the 'stately height' to which hawks can fly, similarly claiming it 'is a Flight [...] worthy of a King'.¹⁷⁵ However, he also depicts the birds used in this hunt as 'sharpe cruell Hawkes', and their prey as 'trembling' and 'fearefull Fowle', thus conveying the more tyrannical aspects of their inherently predatory natures.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, Drayton recounts the more violent details of falconry matches, which tend to be omitted from literary descriptions:

¹⁷⁴ Drayton, *Owle*, sig.G4^r.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Drayton, *The Second Part, or a Continuance of Poly-Olbion* (London, 1622), sig.C4^v.

¹⁷⁶ Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, sig.C4^v.

The Hawke giues it a souse, that makes it to rebound,
 Well neere the height of man, sometime aboue the ground;
 Oft takes a leg, or wing, oft takes away the head,
 And oft from necke to tayle, the backe in two doth shread.
 With many a Wo ho ho, and iocond Lure againe,
 When he his quarry makes vpon the grassy plaine.¹⁷⁷

Drayton describes the action of the hawk descending on its prey with such speed and force that it is flung into the air, allowing the falcon to pull it limb from limb. This brutal imagery conflicts with the stately description of the flight of hawks and raptors, representing it as more akin to *par force* hunting than is commonly the case.

In describing the hawk's attack, Drayton suggests that the raptor splits its prey 'from neck to tayle', which recalls the account of Macbeth's brutal assault on Macdonwald:

Disdaining Fortune, with his brandish'd steel,
 Which smok'd with bloody execution,
 Like Valour's minion, carv'd out his passage,
 [...]
 Till he unseam'd him from nave to th' chops (I.ii.17-22).

Although not explicit, Macbeth's pursuit and execution of Macdonwald can be likened to the precise manner in which falcons attack their prey. Horobin observes that, as the 'falcons' method of killing is one of skill and valour', it is often likened to an honourable warrior.¹⁷⁸ Shakespeare more directly employs the falconry trope in this manner in *Richard II* when Bolingbroke compares himself to the noble bird as he prepares to duel with Mowbray: 'As confident as is the falcon's flight / Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight' (I.iii.61-62). Bolingbroke believes Mowbray to be guilty of Thomas of Woodstock's murder, describing him as a 'traitor foul and dangerous', and so believes he is justified in killing him (I.iii.39). Comparably, as a revered warrior, Macbeth is sanctioned to kill Duncan's enemies and is rewarded with the thaneship of Cawdor. As Macbeth himself observes, 'Blood hath been shed ere now, I'th' olden time, / Ere human statute purg'd the gentle weal' (III.iv.74-75). While

¹⁷⁷ Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, sig. C4^v.

¹⁷⁸ Horobin, p.66.

these killings are celebrated, the murder of Duncan falls under the category of ‘murthers [...] / Too terrible for the ear’ (III.iv.76-77). Duncan’s murder is ignoble not just because it is regicide but because, like the mousing owl, Macbeth hunts at night and kills a vulnerable old man in his sleep, under the cover of darkness.

To portray the danger that Macbeth poses to Scotland after he usurps the throne, he is represented as an unmanned hawk that desperately seeks to protect his power. Macbeth’s lack of self-control and fractured state of mind is most evident after he gives the order for Banquo’s murder:

Come, seeling Night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful Day,
And, with thy bloody and invisible hand,
Cancel, and tear to pieces, that great bond
Which keeps me pale! — Light thickens; and the crow
Makes wing to th’ rooky wood:
Good things of Day begin to droop and drowse,
While Night’s black agents to their preys do rouse. (III.ii.46-53)

Macbeth refers to ‘seeling’, the medieval practice which sped up the process of manning a newly caught raptor by stitching the eyes closed. As was outlined in the introduction to this chapter, seeling was largely replaced by hooding in the sixteenth century as the dominant form of aiding the manning process, however, early modern falconry manuals continued to include instructions on how to correctly carry out this procedure, which suggests it was still used.¹⁷⁹ Frederick II emphasises the importance of this procedure, warning that if it ‘is not adopted, and the bird in consequence sees the face of a man or any other unfamiliar object (for the first time especially), she may become frantic and unmanageable.’¹⁸⁰ Through seeling their raptor, the falconer could maintain control and build a bond with their bird that would eventually ensure its obedience. Macbeth’s yearning for ‘seeling night’, arguably refers to his desire to become a loyal subject to Duncan once more and so restore calm to his mind. The more permanent process of seeling a hawk’s eyes closed is invoked here, rather than the temporary and more

¹⁷⁹ See, for example, Turbervile, sig.F4^v-F5^r.

¹⁸⁰ Frederick II, p.137.

humane falconry hood, to emphasise the 'bloody' manner in which Macbeth tore 'to pieces' the 'great bond' that existed between himself and his sovereign when he murdered Duncan, and transformed himself into an untameable raptor.

Lady Macbeth makes Macbeth's untamed status explicitly clear when she asks 'What! quite unmann'd in folly?' (III.iv.72). Sean Benson argues that Lady Macbeth uses this falconry term to deplore Macbeth's 'effeminate unmanliness' by punning on 'unmanned' to suggest Macbeth has not been 'steeled to what he must do.'¹⁸¹ At this point in the play, however, Macbeth is no longer under the command of his wife and while her question may be an attempt to reinforce her control it also conveys Macbeth's lack of restraint by revealing his un-seeled status. Macbeth is free to prey on whomever he chooses and it is through Banquo's murder that he truly loses his humanity, becoming the predatory 'tyrant' (III.vi.22).

Macbeth's tyranny is most acutely evidenced by the murder of Macduff's family. When Macduff is informed of his family's murder, he laments, 'O Hell-kite! — All? / What, all my pretty chickens, and their dam, / At one fell swoop?' (IV.iii.217-219). This avian imagery recalls the previous scene in which Lady Macduff and her children are identified as 'birds', and her son as an 'egg', to denote their vulnerability to Macbeth's predation and inability to 'fly' from his clutches (IV.ii.32, 84, 72). While Macduff's family are dehumanised by their predator, Macbeth is demonised as a 'Hell-kite', suggesting he is worse than the rapacious raptors that were regularly seen scavenging in London and persecuted as vermin. The associations of eggs and chicks with innocence, further emphasises Macbeth's tyrannical nature.¹⁸²

As a tyrant, Macbeth fails to secure the true loyalty of his nobles, who are repeatedly described as 'fly[ing]' from him to Malcolm, perhaps alluding to the refusal of hawks to return to a cruel

¹⁸¹ Benson, p.198.

¹⁸² For further discussion, see Karen Raber, 'The Chicken and the Egg', in *Shakespeare in Our Time: A Shakespeare Association of America Collection*, ed. by Dymphna Callaghan and Suzanne Gossett (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp.338-341 (p.339).

falconer (IV.ii.1, V.iii.1, 7, 48). The most significant deserter is Macduff, who 'Fl[ies] to the Court of England', in order to convince Malcom to reclaim the Scottish throne (III.vi.46). As is well known, Malcolm tests Macduff's loyalty to Scotland when he goes to him in England by falsely declaring a sinful nature, evoking the following response: 'the time you may so hoodwink: [...] there cannot be / That vulture in you, to devour so many' (IV.iii.72-74). To 'hoodwink' refers to the hooding of raptors which, as has been discussed, symbolised the control exercised by the falconer over their bird. Macduff suggests that Malcolm will hood his subjects, as falconers do their hawks, hiding his vices from them and thus making them obedient to his rule. Nevertheless, Macduff hopes that Malcolm's sinful appetite is not equal to that of a 'vulture', which were deemed untameable and understood to prey on carrion rather than making their own kills. Fortunately for Macduff, Malcom is in fact 'hoodwinking' him by only playing the part of a would-be tyrant in order to ascertain Macduff's true intentions. Unlike his father, Malcolm is cautious of those who surround his throne and is perspicaciously aware of the plots against his life. Unlike Macbeth, Malcolm secures the willing obedience of his subjects, who follow him out of love and duty rather than fear.

In killing Macduff's family, Macbeth gives his main adversary further reason to seek revenge. Macduff, however, is not portrayed as a hawk but arguably as 'a household Cocke'.¹⁸³ Notably, in *The Fowles of Heauen*, Topsell describes this bird as a,

Creature of such worth that he is a excellent patterne of a husband loving his wives the hennes, and for them he fighteth to death, of a householder for he scrapeth all day longe (and is not wearied) to feed the troope he leadeth; of a good and watchfull father, for yf the hen dye he hatchet the egges, and feedeth the Chicken, and while he hath one eye to y^e earth to looke after foode he casteth another eye vpward to heauen to preuent y^e incursions and violence of *Hawkes* and *Kites* aboue head.¹⁸⁴

Topsell also presents the household Cocke as 'an armed Soldier hauinge his Combe for a helmet, his spurres for a sword, his beake for a speare, his taile for a standard, and after

¹⁸³ Topsell, *Fowles*, p.26.

¹⁸⁴ Topsell, *Fowles*, p.26.

combate his owne voice to proclaime his victorie and singe his triumph.’¹⁸⁵ Although Macduff fails to protect his family from Macbeth’s predation, he does emerge as a loyal servant and soldier, who kills the tyrant and secures Malcolm’s throne. He therefore encapsulates Macbeth’s description of true loyalty in the opening act of the play, as ‘doing everything / Safe toward; the love and honour’ of their King, even to the detriment of his family (I.iv.26-27).

Although *Macbeth* ends with the rightful heir restored to his throne, it also echoes the opening of the play, with a rebel being killed by a loyal and worthy warrior, thus suggesting that the cycle of violence and treachery will continue. However, Malcolm is shrewder than his father in that he employs a loyal warrior more akin to the brave and, most importantly, flightless ‘household Cocke’, as opposed to the vicious and high-flying hawk, whose ambitions may one day threaten his sovereignty. At the end of the play, Macbeth is grounded by his opponents, which is conveyed by his declaration: ‘They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly, / But, bear-like, I must fight the course’ (V.vii.1-2). Macbeth is aware that his freedom is lost and that the odds are stacked against him, just like the bears that were often blinded and declawed, before being chained to a stake and set on by fierce mastiffs. As a victim of his own tyranny, Macbeth is justifiably removed from power by Macduff.

Before he kills Macbeth, Macduff informs him that, ‘We’ll have thee, as our rarer monsters are, Painted upon a pole, and underwrit, / “Here may you see the tyrant”’ (V.viii.25-27). Macduff fulfils his promise and presents ‘Th’usurper’s cursed head’ to Malcolm (V.ix.22). This recalls the 1566 Preservation of Grain Act, which called for the heads of kites to be presented to the Churchwarden of each Parish for fourteen pennies a piece. While Macbeth seeks to emulate the voracious bear as he fights for his life, in death he is reduced to vermin. The display of Macbeth’s head exemplifies the expelling of the beastly tyrant and reaffirms the rule of a legitimate, and firmly human, sovereign. Andreas Höfele resists this reading and argues that the

¹⁸⁵ Topsell, *Fowles*, p.26.

display of Macbeth's head serves 'as a reminder of the potential that the new king shares with the conquered tyrant, the "confineless" force to do and be more (and less) than man – to be fox or lion, as Machiavelli counsels'.¹⁸⁶ However, as the introduction of this thesis outlined, a legitimate monarch was encouraged to take on the nature of the beast when necessary to defeat their enemies. Malcolm, as the true heir to the Scottish throne, is therefore justified in matching Macbeth's brutality. Malcolm's ruthlessness does not call into question his suitability as a sovereign but exemplifies his ability to rule and to command the obedience of those under his governance. Nevertheless, as is the case in *2 and 3 Henry VI* and Marlowe's *Edward II*, Shakespeare uses the falconry trope in *Macbeth* to represent the dangers of disobedient and unrestrained subjects usurping power and becoming tyrannical rulers. The falconry imagery consequently speaks to anxieties about the barbarity of the ruling elite rather than providing evidence of their nobility.

3.5 'Thus have I politicly begun my reign': Falconry and Governance in *The Taming of the Shrew*

The appropriation of the falconry trope to explore concepts of sovereignty, loyalty and subservience can also be applied to *The Taming of the Shrew*. In his well-known taming soliloquy, Petruchio informs the audience that he will reclaim his wife as falconers do their hawks, 'To make her come and know her keeper's call' (IV.i.182). It has been largely overlooked that Petruchio begins this speech with the proclamation: 'Thus have I politicly begun my reign' (IV.i.1176). By using the language of governance, the first line of Petruchio's taming soliloquy draws a direct comparison between how husbands rule their wives and how monarchs govern their subjects. Having displayed his successful taming of Katherine in Act Five, Scene Two, Petruchio informs his male companions, 'peace it bodes, and love, and quiet life, / And awful rule and right supremacy' (V.ii.109-110). While 'peace', 'love' and a 'quiet life' are reasonable desires, the ambivalent term 'awful rule' — with its play on both

¹⁸⁶ Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.66.

‘reverential wonder’ and ‘active fear’ — suggests that Petruchio achieves his wife’s obedience through terror and dread rather than through sublime majesty, thus indicating that Katherine only performs obedience out of fear of her husband.¹⁸⁷ The highly refined and performative nature of Katherine’s final monologue makes it inherently metatheatrical, which is reinforced by the framing of *The Shrew* as a play-within-a-play in the second Induction scene. This section will show how Shakespeare employs the falconry trope in *The Shrew* to question the nature of power and obedience to reflect on his own submission to the constraints of patronage and censorship, which prevent him from openly attacking the tyranny of the ruling elite.

Benson argues that the title of *The Shrew* suggests that Shakespeare was aware of the connotations of tyranny inherent in comparing wife taming to manning a hawk, with ‘shrew’ referring to not only a woman who is scolded but also the small land shrew which was a popular prey of hawks. As Benson states, ‘Shakespeare’s title thus confuses that which is normally tamed, the hawk, with its prey,’ making Katherine ‘simultaneously the female hawk who must be trained and the object of predation.’¹⁸⁸ The title of the play therefore indicates Petruchio’s tyrannical nature and, again, suggests a slippage between falconer and falcon. The identification of Katherine with prey and Petruchio with predator is established in their first encounter:

PETRUCHIO	Should be? Should–buzz!
KATHERINA	Well ta’en, and like a buzzard.
PETRUCHIO	O slow-wing’d turtle, shall a buzzard take thee?
KATHERINA	Ay, for a turtle, as he takes a buzzard.

(II.i.207-209)¹⁸⁹

Like the shrew, turtle doves were used as prey by falconers in the training of hawks and falcons. In the First Book of the *Arcadia*, Sidney describes how Pyrocles, disguised as Zelmane,

¹⁸⁷ ‘awe, n.1.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), online edn <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13911>> [accessed 20 July 2018].

¹⁸⁸ Benson, p.195, n.37.

¹⁸⁹ The Arden edition (2011) follows the Folio’s speech-prefixes.

puts on a falconry display which includes a 'seeled Doue, who the blinder she was, the higher she strae'.¹⁹⁰ Bates notes that, the purpose of seeling a dove was 'because blind and disorientated, it consequently flew to a great height, the whole purpose being to exhaust it and make the falcon's kill the more certain and the aerial combat between the two birds the more impressive'.¹⁹¹ She therefore argues that, by 'being identified with these creatures, Pyrocles/Zelmane is not just presented as prey but as prey that has in addition been cruelly maimed and put at an unfair disadvantage from the start'.¹⁹² By comparing Katherine to a dove in her first encounter with Petruchio, Shakespeare arguably refers to this cruel practice and indicates that she will inevitably lose to her husband. Moreover, by comparing Petruchio to the buzzard, Shakespeare connotes the wild and ignoble nature of Katherine's future husband.

There are notable parallels between the falconry imagery used in *The Taming of the Shrew* and that found in *The Rape of Lucrece*. Bach argues that '*The Rape of Lucrece* is a cornucopia of birds: bird imagery, bird tropes, symbolic birds, and references to "real" birds and bird parts', and notes that the poem primarily 'classifies the creaturely world [...] into predators and prey'.¹⁹³ Lucrece is repeatedly depicted as harmless fowl, while Tarquin is compared to various birds of prey. When Tarquin first enters Lucrece's room, she is compared to a sleeping 'dove', 'that this night-owl will catch', thus demonstrating that she is unable to defend herself and is completely at Tarquin's 'mercy' (ll.360, 364). When Tarquin resolves to rape Lucrece, Shakespeare employs the falconry trope to convey the tyrannical nature of his predation:

That said, he shakes aloft his Roman blade,
Which like a falcon tow'ring in the skies,
Coucheth the fowl below with his wings' shade,
Whose crooked beak threats, if he mount he dies:
So under his insulting falchion lies,
Harmless Lucretia, marking what he tells
With trembling fear, as fowl doth hear falcons' bells. (ll.505-511)

¹⁹⁰ Sidney, *Arcadia*, sig.E5^r.

¹⁹¹ Bates, p.226.

¹⁹² Bates, p.226.

¹⁹³ Bach, pp.99, 104.

Lucrece does not even dare try to escape Tarquin, just as a fowl stays close to the ground rather than risk attempting to fly away from a raptor; Lucrece consequently falls victim to Tarquin's pursuit. Shakespeare extends this falconry imagery by comparing Tarquin to a 'gorged hawk' after he has raped Lucrece (1.694). As the falconry manuals assert, a hawk should not be allowed to 'gorge' themselves on their prey or they will not return to the fist. The falconry imagery employed in *Lucrece* therefore represents Tarquin's unrestrained wildness and Lucrece's powerlessness. The initial description of Katherine as a 'turtle' is comparable to the description of Lucrece as a sleeping 'dove', however, Katherine does not identify as a 'weakling', as Lucrece does (1.584). Rather, in her first encounter with Petruchio, Katherine shows that she can match his intellect. While the taming of Katherine like a hawk is degrading, by drawing this comparison, Shakespeare gives Katherine, unlike Lucrece, the ability to fight back.

It is important to note here that Shakespeare also used the falconry trope in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello* to represent the relationship between husband and wife. Although there is not enough space to fully discuss the significance of this falconry imagery, there are some brief observations to be made that can inform our reading of *The Shrew*.¹⁹⁴ In each play there is slippage in which both male and female characters are identified as falconer and falcon, thus demonstrating the unstable nature of the power dynamics between men and women, which is also evident in *The Shrew*. However, the falconry trope is employed in *Romeo and Juliet* in a more romanticised manner. Following their first meeting, Juliet calls after Romeo: 'Hist! Romeo, hist! O for a falconer's voice / To lure this tassel-gentle back again' (II.ii158-159). Juliet is represented as a falconer attempting to regain control over their hawk, in this case a 'tassel-gentle', thus identifying Romeo as a male falcon, which was commonly viewed as a less effective hunter than its female counterpart. Following their marriage, Juliet transforms into the haggard hawk in her eagerness to consummate their nuptials. As she waits for Romeo, she

¹⁹⁴ For further discussion of the falconry trope in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, see Benson, pp.186-207.

states: 'Come, civil night', 'Hood my unmann'd blood, bating in my cheeks, / With thy black mantle' (III.ii.10, 14-15). Juliet's wish to be hooded, recalls Macbeth's yearning for 'seeling Night', and the restoration of his bond with Duncan. Comparably, Juliet calls to be hooded like a hawk in order to suppress her passions, which are no longer under her control. She also calls on Phoebus's 'fiery-footed steeds' to 'Gallop apace' (III.ii.1). The conflation of the equine and falconry trope conveys the intensity of Juliet's desire for Romeo but it also foreshadows the ensuing tragedy that is brought about by the disobedience and lack of self-control exhibited by the Montagues and Capulets. It is only moments later that Juliet learns Romeo has killed her cousin Tybalt to avenge Mercutio's murder.

Othello offers a less romanticised application of the falconry trope, which is bound up with Iago's deception and treachery. Following Cassio's banishment, which Iago orchestrates, Desdemona claims she will force Othello to recant this punishment: 'My lord shall never rest, / I'll watch him tame and talk him out of patience' (III.iii.22-23). Desdemona invokes the taming method of preventing a hawk from sleeping to emotionally exhaust it and make it more tractable. As we have seen, this method of taming is not advised by contemporary falconers as it prevents the bird from trusting its keeper. Desdemona fails to see that she has been manipulated into this situation by Iago and so loses her husband's faith in her fidelity. Like Juliet, Desdemona transforms into a hawk, which becomes apparent when Othello, believing Desdemona has been unfaithful, states:

If I do prove her haggard,
Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings,
I'd whistle her off and let her down the wind
To prey at fortune. (III.iii.264-267)

Othello demands 'ocular proof' of Desdemona's guilt before he can accuse her of adultery and divorce her, which is implied by the imagery of him releasing her from the restraints of marriage, as a falconer would a hawk that cannot be reclaimed (III.iii.363). However, just as a falconer blinds their hawk with a hood, Othello's perspective is obstructed by Iago's corruptive influence and he is unable to see the truth of the situation. Iago therefore emerges as the true

falconer, who keeps his own hands clean, while successfully manipulating Othello into attacking and murdering Desdemona. Given that both *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet* end in tragedy it is unlikely that Shakespeare used the falconry trope to represent ideal relations between husband and wife in *The Shrew*.

That Petruchio's taming of Katherine was viewed as tyrannical, by at least some early modern spectators, is evident in John Fletcher's sequel to Shakespeare's play, *The Tamer Tamed* (1611), the epilogue of which explicitly states husbands 'should not reign as tyrants o'er their wives' (V.iv.94).¹⁹⁵ In this play, Petruchio's second wife, Maria, condemns subservient wives:

Hang those tame-hearted eyases that no sooner
See the Lure out, and hear their Husbands holler,
But cry like Kites upon 'em! The free haggard
(Which is that woman, that hath wing, and knows it,
Spirit and plume) will make a hundred checks,
To show her freedom, sail in every air,
And look out every pleasure, not regarding
Lure nor quarry till her pitch command
What she desires, making her foundered keeper
Be glad to fling out trains (and golden ones)
To take her down again. (I.ii.149-159)

Fletcher's play celebrates the haggard's freedom and criticises wives who 'stoop' to their husband's commands, which is metaphorically represented by the recalling to the lure. This stooping simultaneously conveys the falconer's complete control over the instincts of their hawk and the apparently willing subservience of wives. This view of the seemingly ready obedience of hawks and falcons can also be applied to the compact between sovereign and subject, where those that serve under cruel rulers do so only under the illusion of willing obedience.

In line with these more negative associations of falconry and marriage, Coppélia Khan argues that *The Taming of the Shrew* is not about a union of wills but the enforcement of one will over

¹⁹⁵ John Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed or, The Woman's Prize*, ed. by Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

the other.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, the play is not solely concerned with the power relations that exist in a marriage but also in the relationship between master and servant, and thus offers criticism of the patriarchal household more generally. In the audience's first encounter with Petruchio, they witness him physically abuse his servant Grumio, who asks 'if this be not a lawful case for me to leave his service' (I.ii.29). Grumio's mistreatment continues throughout the play and in Act Four, Scene One he enters the scene exclaiming, 'Fie, fie on all tired jades, on all mad masters, and all foul ways! Was ever man so beaten? Was ever man so rayed?' (IV.i.1-3) Grumio notably aligns himself with a low-status horse, which arguably draws on the pitiful description of the mount Petruchio is said to have ridden to his wedding:

his horse hipped with an old mothy saddle and stirrups of no kindred, besides, possessed with the glanders and like to mose in the chine, troubled with the lampass, infected with the fashions, full of wingdalls, sped with spavins, rayed with yellows, past cure of the fives, stark spoiled with the staggers, begnawn with the bots, weighed in the back and shoulder-shotten, near-legged before and with a half-cheeked bit and a head-stall of sheep's leather, which, being restrained to keep him from stumbling, hath been often burst and now repaired with knots (III.ii.48-59).

Peter Heaney has identified the numerous diseases and complaints that Petruchio's horse is afflicted with and argues that this 'wretched horse is a symptom of his master's cruel *mismanagement*.'¹⁹⁷ We may recall here the horse in *Woodstock* that is said to be 'pricked more with the spur than provender', which, as was discussed in the previous chapter, reflects on Richard II's poor governance (III.ii.168-169). Likewise, Petruchio's diseased horse reflects on his failures as the head of the household and his lack of concern for those under his care, including his wife. Katherine's taming is, after all, also compared to the 'breaking' of horses.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Coppélia Khan, 'The Taming of the Shrew: Shakespeare's Mirror of Marriage', *Modern Language Studies*, 5 (1975), 88-102.

¹⁹⁷ Peter F. Heaney, 'Petruchio's Horse: Equine and Household Mismanagement in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 4 (1998). 2.1-12 (2.3) <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-1/heanshak.html>> [accessed 2 February 2015].

¹⁹⁸ There is not space here to fully discuss the significance of this equine imagery. For indepth analysis, see Lynda E. Boose, 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 42 (1991), 179-213; Joan Hartwig, 'Horses and Women in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 45 (1982), 285-294.

Shakespeare derived the taming plot, as Jan Harold Brunvand has demonstrated, from a group of folktales concerned with similar ideas of unruly women. In these tales, which Brunvand calls Type 901, the husband kills either his dog or his horse in an attempt to frighten his wife into submission, and the success of her taming is conveyed through a wager with his companions over who has the most obedient wife.¹⁹⁹ In *The Shrew*, it is not Petruchio's horse or dog that is punished, but Grumio, who recounts that Petruchio 'beat me because [Katherine's] horse stumbled' (IV.i.69-70). In Shakespeare's appropriation of this folktale tradition the dog and the horse are replaced with Petruchio's human servant, degrading him to the same status, if not lower, than that of an animal. Furthermore, as Grumio's initial beating is not witnessed by Katherine, Petruchio's mistreatment of his servant is not used to demonstrate his power but to convey his tyrannical nature and tendency towards unjustified violence. Petruchio's mistreatment of Grumio, and his household in general, demonstrates he is a tyrant who relishes the fear he evokes in those under his governance.

While Petruchio does not physically assault Katherine, as he does Grumio, he still inflicts upon her a form of domestic abuse by taming her like a hawk and gradually subjugating her to his will over the course of the play. In her study on domestic violence in the early modern period, Emily Detmer suggests that the effects of Petruchio's 'coercive' methods on Katherine are akin to that found in victims of 'Stockholm syndrome', whereby the abuser asserts 'complete control over the victim's thoughts and actions through fear and intimidation.'²⁰⁰ Petruchio achieves this by using the detailed steps for manning a hawk, these being the initial reclaiming of the hawk, the use of the hood to aid human-raptor familiarisation, the training to the lure, and the test of unrestricted flight. The initial manning occurs in the first meeting between Katherine and Petruchio, during which he renames her 'Kate', thus denoting that he has taking possession of

¹⁹⁹ Jan Harold Brunvand, 'The Folktale Origin of *The Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 17 (1966), 345-359. See also Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, trans. by Stith Thompson, 2nd edn (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1961), p.311.

²⁰⁰ Emily Detmer, 'Civilising Subordination: Domestic Violence and *The Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 48 (1997), 273-294 (p.284).

her (II.ii.183). The taming process progresses after their wedding in which Petruchio metaphorically captures Katherine and removes her from her natural habitat, her paternal home.

Petruchio's soliloquy in Act Four, Scene One makes the connection between the taming of his wife with the taming of a falcon explicit:

Thus have I politicly begun my reign,
And 'tis my hope to end successfully.
My falcon now is sharp and passing empty,
And till she stoop she must not be full-gorg'd,
For then she never looks upon her lure.
Another way I have to man my haggard,
To make her come and know her keeper's call—
That is, to watch her, as we watch these kites
That bate and beat, and will not be obedient.
She eat no meat today, nor none shall eat.
Last night she slept not, nor tonight she shall not. (IV.i.176-186)²⁰¹

In this speech, Petruchio suggests that not allowing Katherine food and sleep is 'done in reverend care of her' (IV.i.192). Margaret Loftus Ranald argues that Katherine's taming is misread as tyrannical, and instead cites the falconry's manuals emphasis on love and mutual affection between keeper and raptor to suggest that Shakespeare uses the falconry trope 'to portray an atypical Elizabethan attitude toward marriage through the development of a matrimonial relationship in which mutuality, trust, and love are guiding forces.'²⁰² However, in her thesis on current falconry practices, Schroer notes that the method of 'breaking' raptors 'by exhausting it physically and mentally until its "wild spirits" have been overcome', is now 'considered as "fundamentally bad falconry"'.²⁰³ Schroer admits that while these methods demonstrate that it is 'possible in principle to dominate a hawk and to train it by coercive means', falconers feel that they put the bird's risk at health and also prevent 'the opportunity to build companionship with the bird and to encounter it through understanding the bird's way of

²⁰¹ In the equivalent speech in *The Taming of a Shrew*, there is a conflation of the falconry and equine trope. For further discussion, see G. I. Duthie, 'The Taming of a Shrew and The Taming of the Shrew', *The Review of English Studies*, 19 (1943), 337-356.

²⁰² Ranald, p.149. The same view is also expressed in David Daniell, 'The Good Marriage of Katherine and Petruchio', *Shakespeare Survey*, 37 (1984), 23-31.

²⁰³ Schroer, p.90.

becoming rather than through simply subduing it to human will'.²⁰⁴ Schroer suggests that 'coercive training methods' make losing birds when out hunting more likely as the birds 'do not develop trust and confidence in the human and fail to acknowledge the human as a hunting companion.'²⁰⁵ Petruchio's methods of 'manning' Katherine therefore prevent a bond of mutual companionship to be formed and makes the threat of her rebelling against his rule more likely.

The audience witnesses Katherine's spirit being 'broken' on the journey home to Padua for her sister's wedding. During this journey, Katherine's obedience is tested when she is forced to agree with Petruchio that the sun is the moon, only for Petruchio to reprimand her for lying. Katherine eventually relents, informing Petruchio, 'Then, God be blest, it is the blessed sun. / But sun it is not, when you say it is not' (IV.v.18-19). This exchange likely reflects on the practice of hooding, whereby the falconer kept their raptor calm, and therefore more tractable, through the darkness of the hood, which deceived the bird into thinking it was night when it was day. Like a hooded hawk, Katherine is forced to accept it is day or night according to her husband's whim. When Turbervile describes the hooding of raptors he emphasises the importance of gentleness and patience, 'to the ende your hawke may be the better manned, & the sooner reclaimed, you shall do wel to beare hir co[m]monly in places where most people do freque[n]t, and where most exercises are vsed'.²⁰⁶ In contrast, Petruchio's cruel game aims to control and humiliate Katherine. Petruchio is not satisfied with Katherine relenting to confirm his claim that the sun is the moon as, when they meet Vincentio on the road, Petruchio forces Katherine to address the 'old, wrinkled, faded, wither'd' man as a 'Young budding virgin, fair, and fresh, and sweet' (IV.v.42, 36). Nevertheless, Petruchio's methods are effective in ensuring Katherine's obedience when they are among other people at her sister's wedding.

The training to the lure is played out during the banquet in Act Five, Scene Two, when the husbands place wagers on the obedience of their wives, just as they would the hunting

²⁰⁴ Schroer, p.90.

²⁰⁵ Schroer, pp.91-92.

²⁰⁶ Turbervile, sig.E7^r.

capabilities of their hawks. Katherine's compliance is demonstrated to those in attendance when Petruchio wins the bet that his wife will come when called (V.ii.118). When Katherine enters for the second time, as commanded by her husband, with her sister and the Widow, Petruchio demands: 'Katherine, that cap of yours becomes you not. / Off with that bauble, throw it under foot' (V.ii.122-123). To display the successful culmination of her taming, Petruchio asks Katherine to remove her cap, which represents her hood. Katherine's symbolic unhooding conveys Petruchio's confidence that his wife has been successfully tamed and is ready for the test of unrestricted flight. This final stage of the taming process is enacted through Katherine's well-known monologue in which she attacks the other women for disobeying their husbands, just as a hawk attacks their master's chosen prey when released from their restraints.

In her monologue in the final scene of the play, Katherine draws parallels between wifely obedience and the compact that exists between sovereign and subject, thus extending the political theme of Petruchio's taming speech, and using the domestic household as a microcosm of the state at large.²⁰⁷ Katherine identifies the husband as the 'king' and 'sovereign' of his wife, claiming that he 'craves no other tribute at thy hands / But love, fair looks and true obedience; [...] Such duty as the subject owes the prince'; a woman who does not provide this is classified as a 'foul contending rebel, / And graceless traitor' (V.ii.139, 148, 153-156, 160-161). Leah Marcus focuses on the differences between this speech and its counterpart in *A Shrew*, the latter of which she describes as a 'restatement of traditional misogyny on religious grounds.'²⁰⁸ Marcus argues that Katherine's monologue in *The Shrew* alternatively outlines a political rationale for obedience, suggesting that it 'advocates wifely obedience in terms of a theory of sovereignty by which the household is modelled on the kingdom and wifely disobedience becomes a form of "petty treason" against her "king" and husband'.²⁰⁹ In contrast, Ranald argues that Katherine's speech on wifely duties is a celebration of the patriarchy,

²⁰⁷ Leah Marcus, 'The Shakespearean Editor as Shrew-Tamer', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22 (1992), 177-200 (p.186).

²⁰⁸ Marcus, p.186.

²⁰⁹ Marcus, p.186.

asserting that the ‘husband is legally the head of the wife as her lord, [...] and as a prince in his own household, he should rule its members with justice and loving kindness rather than cruelty and injustice.’²¹⁰ However, Petruchio has been revealed as incapable of justice and loving compassion through his mistreatment of his horse, Grumio and Katherine. While Katherine’s monologue may seem to encapsulate the ‘ideal’ marriage, the audience is aware that she is unlikely to achieve this with Petruchio and will be forced to submit to her tyrannical husband.

While scholars such as Loftus Ranald and David Daniell emphasise the primary aim of the taming is to create a marriage of equality and respect, such a reading ignores the degradation of Katherine’s humanity which such a comparison implies. As Benson argues, Shakespeare’s ‘use of falconry tropes suggests that the arrogation of power in marriage is at best an uneasy accommodation, at worst destructive of married life, if not of life itself.’²¹¹ While Petruchio states that ‘all is done in reverend care of’ Katherine, his violent tendencies and the cruelty of the taming techniques suggest otherwise, as is exemplified by his oxymoronic claim: ‘This is a way to kill a wife with kindness’ (IV.i.196). Katherine is subjected to this process of taming to make her submit to her husband’s will. As Berry asserts, falconry, in a similar fashion, ‘aspires towards a union of two wills, animal and human, each devoted to the same exhilarating and instinctive end, the pursuit of prey. Any such union must be one-sided, however, for ultimate power resides with the falconer alone.’²¹² In line with this reading, Petruchio’s taming of Katherine, as a falconer would a hawk, displays his mastery over another human and not a mutual bond of affection between husband and wife.

Katherine’s monologue is thus a performance of dutiful obedience that is prompted by a dread of the repercussions she will face if she displeases Petruchio; she ironically refers to ‘true obedience’ and ‘honest will’, as these words have been forced from her (V.ii.154, 159). To

²¹⁰ Ranald, p.162.

²¹¹ Benson, pp.206-207.

²¹² Berry, p.101.

visually enforce her subjugation, Katherine urges the other women to ‘place your hands below your husband’s foot’ as she does, reinforcing her status in the household hierarchy beneath her husband (V.ii.178). Through its comparison to the duties owed to a monarch, Katherine’s speech by extension encourages the subservience of subjects to their sovereigns. While this may have been viewed as a reasonable expectation in the early modern period, the inherent dehumanisation of the falconry language that is used in *The Shrew* conveys a subtle criticism of the structures of power. Moreover, through the political language used in Katherine’s final monologue, the seemingly willing obedience of hawks can be applied to subjects who serve their sovereign out of fear of punishment, thus only creating the illusion of eager subservience.

Given the performative nature of Katherine’s final monologue, Shakespeare may have in part used the falconry trope in *The Shrew* to reflect on his own seeming obedience to those in power. The framing device in the second Induction makes clear that the central action is a play-within-a-play, thus drawing attention to the purpose of playing, and Peter Alexander argues that *The Shrew* originally ended with the reappearance of Sly, which would have emphasised the performative element of Katherine’s obedience.²¹³ Helga Ramsey-Kurz draws connections between the play’s metatheatrical preoccupations and its falconry imagery to suggest that in her final monologue Katherine is only performing subservience, having realised the value of ‘theatrical deception.’²¹⁴ She suggests that Shakespeare makes these comparisons in order to ‘address the socio-cultural purpose of theatrical performance’ and establish ‘its indispensability as a cultural practice employed by males and females alike to negotiate their place within society.’²¹⁵ Similarly, Holly A. Crocker suggests that through her ‘performance of feminine submission’, or ‘Playing A-Part’, Katherine enacts her resistance to Petruchio’s taming.²¹⁶ Carolyn Brown argues that Katherine achieves this resistance and opposes her complete

²¹³ Peter Alexander, ‘The Original Ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 20 (1969), 111-116.

²¹⁴ Helga Ramsey-Kurz, ‘Rising Above the Bait: Kate’s Transformation from Bear to Falcon’, *English Studies*, 88 (2007), 262-281 (p.279).

²¹⁵ Ramsey-Kurz, pp.264, 265.

²¹⁶ Holly A. Crocker, ‘Affective Resistance: Performing Passivity and Playing A-Part in *The Taming of the Shrew*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 54 (2003), 142-159 (pp.154, 158).

subjugation through the length of her monologue, its irony and her confident delivery, thus using ‘language as a weapon.’²¹⁷ While players may have been employed by nobles to attack their enemies, they had a certain degree of agency and independence due to the profitability of the commercial stage (II.ii.607). Players, like haggard hawks, can consequently never be completely bent into submission.

The falconry manuals emphasise that, despite the taming process, the haggard hawk remains a predatory creature that hunts on command but which never comes under the complete control of the falconer. The appropriation of falconry imagery to describe an unruly wife who requires taming, inherently suggests that such a woman poses a threat to her husband if he fails to control her. There is a notable comparison to draw here with the relationship between sovereigns and subjects; while it may be represented as mutually beneficial relationship, definitive power rests with the monarch only as long as they maintain control over rebellious individuals. As Ramsey-Kurz argues, Katherine’s submission is ‘a voluntary and purposefully aggressive descent from a height her tamer, Petruchio, cannot even dream of ever attaining himself.’²¹⁸ Despite her taming, as a ‘haggard hawk’, Katherine retains the threat of reverting to her wild nature and disobeying her husband, just as subjects pose the threat of revolting against their monarch when dissatisfied with their rule.

3.6 Conclusions

While the gendered readings of the falconry trope are derived from the obvious transferability of the language of love expressed in the falconry manuals, they are also imbued with the language of governance and state. Through close examination of the manuals and analysis of references to falconry in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Macbeth*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, this chapter has provided a re-reading of the falconry trope and its representation of power and obedience.

²¹⁷ Carolyn E. Brown, ‘Katherine of *The Taming of the Shrew*: “A Second Grissel”’: *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 37 (1995), 285-313 (p.307).

²¹⁸ Ramsey-Kurz, p.264.

While falcons were traditionally used to symbolise the status, wealth and power of the humans who possessed them, the plays appropriate this association to explore tensions which existed between social classes, the nature of sovereignty and subordination, and the concerns of tyrannical rule. Due to the tentative nature of the falconer's authority over their raptor, the sport is appropriated in early modern drama to draw rich literary parallels between the height at which a falcon can pitch and the dangers of overreaching ambition, as well as the fatal consequences of unrestrained and predatory tyrants usurping power. While sovereigns are required to adopt coercive methods, akin to those used by falconers, to gain and maintain control over their subjects, there is an emphasis in the plays on sufficiently rewarding and caring for loyal subjects in order to secure their love and willing obedience. As we saw in the previous chapter, without this sense of mutual respect between sovereign and subject, the sovereign risks becoming a tyrant, and therefore potentially being deposed. Like the relationship between horse and rider, the relationship between falcon and keeper can be applied to the complex compact between sovereign and subject, in which the former maintains the upper hand only as long as the latter remains obedient and accepts their governance.

As a playwright who reflected on the concerns of sovereignty and governance in his work, Shakespeare was engaged in this 'game of state'. While he perhaps aimed to emulate the falconer and use his plays to attack the vices of the ruling elite, like the falcon, he was restrained by the jesses of patronage and censorship. Shakespeare attempted to circumvent these constraints through the clever employment of animal imagery, thus 'hoodwinking' his noble audiences. However, he was often forced to 'stoop' to those in power. The ambivalence Shakespeare felt at having to maintain a balance between preserving his independence as a commercial playwright and avoid being imprisoned for offending the ruling elite is particularly apparent in his inconsistent use of dog imagery, as will be explored in the next chapter. Shakespeare may have aspired to be like the noble falcon but he identified more so with the maligned canine, which was forced to flatter and fawn on its master to maintain favour.

IV

‘Truth’s a dog that must to kennel’:

Early Modern Canine Counsellors and the Political Role of Players

It has often been suggested that Shakespeare did not like dogs.¹ There is an abundance of evidence to support this reading as, unlike horses and hawks, dogs are largely used throughout the playwright’s works to indicate unfavourable characteristics in humans. Take for example, Richard III’s epithet as ‘the bloody dog’ (*Richard III* V.v.2), Roderigo’s description of Iago as an ‘inhuman dog’ (*Othello* V.i.62) and Shylock’s problematic depiction as a ‘cut-throat dog’ (*Merchant of Venice*, I.iii.111).² Shakespeare also invokes the supposedly sycophantic nature of canines to describe disingenuous individuals and their deceitful actions. In *Julius Caesar* the conspirators are characterised as dogs when Caesar describes Metellus’s pleading for Publius Cimber’s life as ‘base spaniel fawning’, and therefore dismisses him ‘like a cur’ (*Julius Caesar* II.i.43, 46). Comparably, in *Hamlet*, when Gertrude and Claudius are informed that the people call for Laertes to be king, Gertrude regards them as ‘false Danish dogs’ (*Hamlet* IV.v.110). In these plays, Shakespeare compares characters to dogs to indicate that they are of a low status, have a cruel nature, or are deceitful and self-serving flatterers. However, as this chapter will show, dogs were regarded in a highly ambivalent manner in early modern culture as they were used to represent the contradictory concepts of true loyalty and false flattery, being at once both an emblem of good counsel and misguided advice.³ Dogs were therefore an ideal animal for

¹ See A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth* (London: Macmillan, 1956), p.268; Stephen Greenblatt, ‘A Great Dane Goes to the Dogs’, *The New York Review of Books*, 26 March 2009, pp.31-33; Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare’s Imagery and What It Tells Us* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp.195-199.

² *The Merchant of Venice* has a high frequency of dog imagery due to the repeated attribution of canine characteristics to Shylock to denote his abject and outsider status as a Jewish usurer in a predominantly Christian community. There is insufficient space in this chapter to explore the highly complex nature of the anti-Semitic use of dog imagery in this play. For further discussion, see Bruce Bohrer, ‘Shylock and the Rise of the Household Pet: Thinking Social Exclusion in *The Merchant of Venice*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 50 (1999), 152-170; Brett Hirsch, ‘The Taming of the Jew: Spit and the Civilizing Process in *The Merchant of Venice*’, in *Staged Transgression in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Rory Loughnane and Edel Semple (New York: Palgrave, 2013), pp.136-152 (pp.147-150).

³ For further discussion of dog symbolism throughout history, see Beryl Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), pp.58-66.

representing those who served and counselled rulers as, like canines, such individuals were regarded with an equal level of ambivalence.

There are notable parallels between the ambivalence concerning dogs and anxieties about service in early modern culture. Michael Neill has noted the frequency with which the equation between humans and dogs is used to explore master-servant relations in Shakespeare's plays and argues that dogs have 'traditionally been identified with servants — either as figures for devoted loyalty, or for [...] dumb servility.'⁴ Drawing on the dog's liminality, Neill also asserts that, '[b]y virtue of occupying the lowest rung in the hierarchy of the household, dogs resemble servants who have been stripped of the last shreds of human respect and reduced to the baseness of mere function.'⁵ Adrian Poole builds on Neill's argument and suggests that '[t]o call someone a dog is to do more than affirm their subservience, serviceability, and expendability; it is to degrade them, even to accuse them of radical inhumanity.'⁶ Poole's essay focuses on the connections drawn between soldiers and canines in Shakespeare's plays, such as the 'dogs of war' in *Julius Caesar* and the 'hounds' of 'famine, sword and fire' that 'crouch for employment' in *Henry V* (*Julius Caesar* III.i.273, *Henry V* Prologue 7-8). He notes that these plays conflate war and hunting, the 'sport of kings and queens', thus representing soldiers as 'the dogs they need for the dirty work.'⁷ In this figuration, Shakespeare's soldiers are portrayed as undervalued and dispensable hunting hounds. Poole's interpretation of canine imagery is coloured by his perception that '[n]otoriously, Shakespeare did not think much of dogs.'⁸ He consequently argues that Shakespeare's canines are '[f]awning, obsequious, servile, sly, opportunist' and 'provide an ideal metaphor for doubts about the depths of your underlings'

⁴ Michael Neill, "'The little dogs and all': Ceremony, Nakedness, Shame, and the Deconsecration of Kingship in *King Lear*", in *Shakespeare's World/World Shakespeares*, ed. by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp.31-57 (p.54).

⁵ Neill, "'The little dogs and all'", p.41.

⁶ Adrian Poole, 'Dogs, War and Loyalty in Shakespeare', *The Shakespearean International Yearbook: Special Issue, Placing Michael Neill. Issues of Place in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture*, 11 (2011), 89-110 (p.90).

⁷ Poole, p.97.

⁸ Poole, p.99.

loyalty.’⁹ While this is true in some cases, Shakespeare uses dogs in a more complicated manner to think through the relations between master and servant: after all, as a player and playwright, Shakespeare occupied an ambiguous social position and was, in many ways, an ‘underling’. Neill’s and Poole’s analyses of Shakespeare’s dog imagery, and its connection to master-servant relations, overlook the fact that, based on their cultural significance and function in human society, different dogs represented different types of servants, and such comparisons were not applied in a wholly disparaging manner in all cases. Most significantly, the courtiers who served and counselled rulers did not occupy the ‘lowest rung’ in the social hierarchy and were often compared to dogs in a positive sense. This chapter therefore takes an alternative stance on the connections drawn between dogs and servants by specifically focusing on the characterisation of counsellors as canines in early modern drama.

By examining the culture that surrounded dogs in the early modern period, this chapter argues that Shakespeare and his contemporaries drew on the associations made between canines and counsellors to explore the role of, and the restrictions faced by, those who advised rulers. It will suggest that the category of ‘counsellor’ includes playwrights who offered guidance through their works. Such individuals are often compared to the defensive hounds, mastiffs and bandogs that were perceived to protect their sovereign masters, and regarded as capable of driving away the wolves, which Derrida suggests always encircle those in positions of power.¹⁰

However, playwrights, like most writers, were often constrained by the conditions of patronage and censorship; they consequently could not openly comment on political concerns and criticise their audience members in a wholly untempered manner. The dog was perhaps a doubly ambivalent emblem for playwrights and players as they were compared to canines in a largely pejorative sense to depict them as both fawning flatterers and biting critics. These similarities extended beyond the metaphorical associations of dogs to everyday encounters as, like players

⁹ Poole, pp.101, 102.

¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.88.

and playwrights, canines were often persecuted in early modern England, especially if they were perceived to be masterless. The present chapter therefore argues that the connections between dogs, counsellors, playwrights and players is why canine imagery dominates Shakespeare's plays that are concerned with the conflict between good counsel and false flattery, namely *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *King Lear*. In these plays, Shakespeare uses the canine trope and, in the case of *Two Gentlemen*, an actual dog, to explore the role of counsellors and to reflect on the purposes of playing. Through in-depth analysis of the canine imagery used in these plays, this chapter provides a more developed understanding of how dogs were viewed in the early modern period, presents new insights into the concerns of counsel and service, and gives an alternative perspective on the political role of the early modern playwright. In so doing, it demonstrates that it is more productive to investigate why Shakespeare used dogs to draw out the complexities of serving and counselling the ruling elite rather than to ascertain if he was a dog-person.

Considering the associations between dogs and early modern authors, Shakespeare's use of canine imagery should be viewed in connection to Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson's now lost play *The Isle of Dogs* (c.1597). While we can only speculate about its contents, it is arguable that the play reflected on the importance of snarling satirists in highlighting societal corruption. This argument can be supported by analysis of Nashe's pamphlets *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) and *Strange News* (1592), his last-known published prose text *Lenten Stuffe* (1599) and his play *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (c.1592), all of which employ canine imagery to explore the importance of authors and the restrictions imposed upon them by patronage and censorship. In addition, Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), a play that was written approximately two years after he was imprisoned for his part in writing and performing in *The Isle of Dogs*, features an actual greyhound on stage and employs frequent canine epithets to represent its author figures. *Every Man Out* therefore provides valuable insights into the contents of its suppressed predecessor and the connections drawn between dogs, playwrights and players in early modern drama.

This chapter will demonstrate that Shakespeare used dog imagery in a similar manner to Nashe and Jonson to reflect on the purposes of playing and its restraints. Andrew Hadfield has suggested that ‘Shakespeare quite clearly had his eye on what Nashe was doing in 1597 as he was, arguably, the most significant writer in London at the time’.¹¹ It seems that Shakespeare had his eye on Nashe much earlier than 1597 and borrowed extensively from his works, as J. J. M. Tobin has demonstrated through a series of articles published in *Notes & Queries*.¹² Shakespeare was likely influenced by the canine imagery employed in Nashe’s earlier works, particularly *Summer’s Last Will*, in which he may have acted. A more thorough consideration of the conflicting associations of canines in Nashe’s earlier texts not only provides an alternative context for *The Isle of Dogs*, but also for the canine trope in Shakespeare’s plays.

Why Shakespeare chose to bring a dog on stage in *Two Gentlemen* has been the subject of much speculation.¹³ This chapter will suggest that Shakespeare used the character of Crab the dog, and canine imagery throughout the play, to reflect on the changing master-servant relationship and the precarious roles occupied by playwrights and players. Although its dating is uncertain, *Two Gentlemen* was probably written between 1592 and 1594. During this period, Shakespeare had established himself as a player and playwright, but he does not appear to have been attached to a specific playing company until he formally joined the newly-formed Chamberlain’s Men in the summer of 1594. At this time Shakespeare was under, or at least

¹¹ Andrew Hadfield, ‘Shakespeare, Nashe, and *The Famous Victories of Henry V*’, *Notes & Queries*, 65 (2018), 67-69.

¹² For example, see: J. J. M. Tobin, ‘Nashe and *Romeo and Juliet*’, *Notes & Queries*, 27 (1980), 161-162; J. J. M. Tobin, ‘Nashe and Shakespeare: Some Further Borrowings’, *Notes & Queries*, 39 (1992), 309-320; J. J. M. Tobin, ‘Nashe and Some Shakespearean Sonnets’, *Notes & Queries*, 46 (1999), 222-226. It is also likely that Shakespeare parodied Nashe through the figure of Moth in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, Touchstone in *As You Like It*’s and Feste in *Twelfth Night*’s Feste. For further discussion, see Steve Sohmer, *Reading Shakespeare’s Mind* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.110-114.

¹³ See, for example: Richard Beadle, ‘Crab’s Pedigree’, in *English Comedy*, ed. by M. Corder, P. Holland, and J. Kerrigan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.12-35; Erica Fudge, ‘“The Dog is Himself”: Humans, Animals, and Self-Control in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*’, in *How to Do Things with Shakespeare*, ed. by Laurie Maguire (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp.185-209; John Peachman, ‘Why a Dog? A Late Date for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*’, *Notes & Queries*, 54 (2007), 265-272.

seeking, patronage from Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton, to whom he dedicated his narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594). However, between 1592 and 1594, London suffered a severe plague epidemic that closed the commercial theatres for indefinite periods, leaving playwrights and players without secure employment. The plague is usually given as reason for why Shakespeare wrote *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*; Shakespeare may have also used this time to reflect on the precarity of his role as a player and playwright for the commercial stage through *Two Gentlemen*, with Launce and his dog Crab representing the attendant anxieties and paradoxes of professional playing.

After *Two Gentlemen*, Shakespeare's plays do not feature sustained dog imagery again until James I's reign, most significantly in *Lear*. Shakespeare wrote this later play under the auspices of the King's Men and, therefore, under a royal patron. In his capacity as a servant of the new King, Shakespeare arguably felt that it was his duty to counsel the monarch, but was concerned about how to deliver this in the most appropriate manner to maintain the company's royal patronage. Although Shakespeare occupied an enviable position, he nevertheless uses the ambivalence around dogs in this play to explore the anxieties surrounding service and counsel, and the dangers of offering frank advice to a ruler who may not be receptive to unmediated honesty. The suppression of the scandalous *Isle of Dogs* was still a prominent enough issue to be referenced several times in the early years of James's reign and Shakespeare probably had the suppression of this play, and several others, in mind when writing *Lear*. Shakespeare's use of dog imagery was likely also influenced by criticisms of James's style of government, specifically accusations that he favoured flattering courtiers over well-intentioned counsellors and prioritised hunting over his monarchical duties, which makes the use of dog imagery in this play even more pointed as a vehicle of criticism. In *Lear*, Shakespeare employs the canine trope to explore the anxieties of serving a monarch and the negative impact it can have on a country when a ruler is served by false flatterers rather than well-intentioned, honest counsellors.

This first half of this chapter outlines the wider cultural representation of dogs in the early modern period, specifically the connections drawn between canines, service, counsel and early modern writers. It uses this context, to consider the political significance of Nashe and Jonson's lost play *The Isle of Dogs* and the employment of the canine trope in associated texts, most notably Nashe's *Summer's Last Will* and Jonson's *Every Man Out*. Through an examination of the politicised use of dog imagery in these plays, this chapter offers an alternative reading of the inclusion of an actual dog in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen*. Following this, it analyses the canine trope and its connections to counsel and false flattery in *Lear*. In so doing, the present chapter demonstrates that Shakespeare used the conflicting representations of dogs to interrogate the ambivalent nature of serving and counselling the ruling elite, which shifted as his own position in the social hierarchy changed over time.

4.1 Fawning Sycophants and Biting Critics

James Serpell, a specialist in human-animal interactions, has examined the conflicting representation of dogs as both 'paragon' and 'pariah', and argues that the ambivalence felt towards them is 'almost universal.'¹⁴ He observes that the unwavering loyalty of dogs is a particular source of ambivalence, as '[o]n the one hand, it is one of the things that make dogs so appealing. On the other it can also be construed as sycophantic, servile and obsequious'.¹⁵ While Serpell's observations largely concern modern-day examples, his study provides an anthropological foundation for exploring the human-canine relationship and thus elucidates the conflicting representation of dogs in early modern drama. Most notably, Serpell discusses the role of dogs in hunting, describing it as the 'earliest economic function for this species', and suggests that they are consequently regarded with great fondness and respect by modern hunting communities.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he notes that in these communities 'dog' is still used as a

¹⁴ James Serpell, 'From Paragon to Pariah: Some Reflections on Human Attitudes to Dogs', in *The Domestic Dog: Its Evolution, Behaviour and Interactions with People*, ed. by James Serpell, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.300-314 (p.312).

¹⁵ Serpell, p.310.

¹⁶ Serpell, p.302.

term of abuse or contempt because there is a marked differentiation between ‘hunting dogs that earn the right to be treated as quasi-persons by virtue of their positive contribution to domestic economy, and dogs in general — the ones that live outside and don’t serve any useful purpose.’¹⁷ The same distinctions are made in early modern texts between dogs that serve humans, especially the highly-valued hunting hounds of the ruling elite, and those which are perceived to provide little profit to human society, such as stray mongrels or lapdogs. Consider, for example, the highly positive representation of Theseus’s hunting hounds in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, who, he boasts, ‘are bred out of the Spartan kind’; in contrast, Helena urges Demetrius to ‘spurn’ and ‘strike’ her as though she were his ‘spaniel’, identifying herself with the popular lapdogs that were disparaged because of their associations with femininity, foreignness and sycophantic fawning (IV.i.18, II.i.205, 203).¹⁸

Serpell argues that domesticated dogs are subject to ambivalence because their unique closeness to humans, in both ‘affective and symbolic terms’, can ‘inspire suspicion, denigration and hostility’.¹⁹ He consequently argues that the domesticated dog has a ‘quasi-human but subordinate status’, making it ‘an interstitial creature — neither person nor beast — forever oscillating uncomfortably between the roles of high-status animal and low-status human.’²⁰ Indeed, dogs are perhaps more closely aligned to humans than any of the other animals explored in this thesis due to their established reputation as our most faithful companions, their proximity to the domestic sphere, and the similitude of their emotions and intelligence with that of humans. Paradoxically, it is this closeness that causes dogs to be regarded as ‘pariahs’ because they also reflect our baser appetites and therefore, as Serpell argues, ‘are simply a reflection of our own ambivalence about the *animal* within us’.²¹ The closeness of dogs to humans is consequently a threat to the latter’s notion of superiority.

¹⁷ Serpell, p.303.

¹⁸ Ian MacInnes, ‘Mastiffs and Spaniels: Gender and Nation in the English Dog’, *Textual Practice*, 17 (2003), 21-40 (p.22).

¹⁹ Serpell, pp.302, 305.

²⁰ Serpell, pp.304, 312.

²¹ Serpell, pp.310, 312.

Dogs were repeatedly portrayed as pariahs in early modern society. In the Bible, they are largely regarded as base animals and treated with contempt. The proverb, ‘As a dog turneth again to his own vomit, so a fool turneth to his foolishness’, is frequently invoked to represent repeat sinners (Proverbs 26.112). In the Book of Revelation, dogs are grouped among ‘enchanters, and whoremongers, and murtherers, and idolaters, and whosoeuer loueth or maketh lies’ (22.15). In addition to these metaphorical representations, dogs were massacred in England throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Mark Jenner has demonstrated, over fears that they spread the plague.²² Emily Cockayne has furthered Jenner’s study by exploring the day-to-day hazards posed by large populations of dogs in the urban spaces of medieval and early modern England and the efforts taken to control them, particularly those considered to be strays.²³ In addition to the daily disturbances caused by dogs wandering the streets scavenging for food, worrying sheep, barking at all hours, and polluting the air with their defecation, there were real fears about being bitten by mad dogs due to the rabies endemic in Europe. The poor reputation of dogs in the proverbial and biblical tradition therefore coloured everyday encounters with the animals.

Despite these negative associations, dogs have long been regarded as ‘man’s best friend’. Craig Gibson concludes his essay on the tradition of praising dogs from Classical Greece to Renaissance Italy by claiming that ‘it is the dog’s service to humanity’ that is considered ‘most consistently and highly praiseworthy’.²⁴ Gibson suggests that the most commendable aspect of their natures is the idea that dogs willingly serve humans, claiming ‘they could easily abandon us at any time, but instead they choose to live with us, performing useful services even at the

²² Mark S. Jenner, ‘The Great Dog Massacre’, in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. by William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp.44-61.

²³ Emily Cockayne, ‘Who Did Let the Dogs Out? — Nuisance Dogs in Late-Medieval and Early Modern England’, in *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature and Society*, ed. by Laura D. Gelfand (Boston: Brill, 2016), pp.41-67, see especially p.49.

²⁴ Craig Gibson, ‘In Praise of Dogs: An Encomium Theme from Classical Greece to Renaissance Italy’, in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, pp.19-40 (p.40).

risk of their own lives and leaving us with bitter-sweet memories after their deaths.²⁵ Dogs, in this figuration at least, are represented as ideal companions because they loyally serve their human masters out of love rather than for rewards. In the early modern period, there were numerous anecdotes of ‘louing Dogges, who either haue fought for their maisters and so defended them, or else declared them that murdered their keepers, or [...] leaped into the burning fires which consumed the dead bodies of their norishers.’²⁶ The belief that the loyalty of dogs transcended death is why they are common features on tomb effigies and monuments, as Sophie Oosterwijk and Donna L. Sadler have demonstrated.²⁷ Early modern dogs could therefore be perceived as unfalteringly faithful creatures and also as disloyal, cruel and filthy scavengers. Taking these conflicting associations into consideration, it becomes clearer why counsellors to rulers, whose loyalty and underlying motivations were often regarded with suspicion, were depicted as various types of dogs.



Figure 4.1: ‘Of the DOG in general’, in Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts, Serpents and Insects* (London, 1658), sig.K6^v. Image reproduced with permission of the University of Houston Library, Special Collections.

²⁵ Gibson, p.40.

²⁶ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), sig.O6^v.

²⁷ See Sophie Oosterwijk, ‘From Biblical Beast to Faithful Friend: A Short Note on the Iconography of Footrests on Tomb Monuments’, in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, pp.243-260; Donna L. Sadler, ‘The Canine Domain: At the Feet of the Royal Tomb Effigies in Capetian France’, in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, pp.261-278.

As the image above (Figure 4.1) demonstrates, there were many types of dogs in the early modern period. It is the ubiquitous variety of canines that causes the term ‘dog’ to be imbued with diverse connotations, which prevents firm associations from being attributed to them in the literary and visual culture of the early modern period. As Teresa Grant observes, ‘different dogs, mean different things’ and are used in different ways to ‘comment on social issues’.²⁸ In order to provide an accurate analysis of the dogs that are used in early modern drama to comment on counsel and service, it is therefore necessary to understand how different types of dogs were viewed in the early modern period, as well as the multitude of roles they performed for their human masters.

John Caius’s *Of Englishe Dogges*, the first known book devoted entirely to these animals, provides an insight into early modern views of canines.²⁹ This text, which was translated from the Latin into the English by Abraham Fleming in 1576, demonstrates that there was an apparent hierarchy amongst dogs in the period that was predicated upon the status that the animals conveyed for their owners and the various roles they performed. *Of Englishe Dogges* presents three different types of canines: ‘A gentle kinde, seruing the game. / A homely kind, apt for sundry necessary vses. / A currishe kinde, meete for many toyes’.³⁰ The ‘gentle kinde’ are hounds used in the hunt and also, despite their disparate roles, lapdogs, which are referred to as the ‘delicate, neate, and pretty kind of dogges called the Spaniel gentle, or the comforter’.³¹ The ‘homely kind’ are dogs that have practical roles within the domestic setting, such as the shepherd dog and the mastiff or ban-dog, ‘which hath sundry names diriuied fro[m] sundry circu[m]stances’.³² The names given to these dogs denotes the many roles they were used for, such as the ‘keeper or watch man’, the ‘butchers dogge’, the ‘messinger or carrier’, and the

²⁸ Teresa Grant, ‘Entertaining Animals’, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2007), pp.95-117 (p.98).

²⁹ John Caius, *Of Englishe Dogges*, trans. by Abraham Fleming (London, 1576). The original Latin text was published in 1570: John Caius, *De Canibus Brittanicis* (London, 1570).

³⁰ Caius, sig.B^v.

³¹ Caius, sig.D2^v.

³² Caius, sig.F^r.

‘water drawer’.³³ The final section of the text briefly discusses ‘Curres of the mungrell and rascall sort’, which includes the ‘warner’, the ‘Turnespete’ and the ‘Daunser’.³⁴ Despite being classed as ‘curres’, the ‘Turnespetes’ dogs are highly commended for the ‘excellent’ service they provide in turn roasting spits in kitchens, while the ‘Daunser’, owned by ‘vagabundicall masters’, are praised for their ‘pretty trickes’.³⁵ Warners, like the ban-dogs of the ‘homely kind’, alert their masters to approaching strangers by barking (hence why they are alternatively known as ‘admonishing Dogges’), and consequently keep human properties safe from trespassers. Nevertheless, all three types of dogs are described in a markedly different tone to the gentle and homely kind by Caius, who states that because they are ‘mingled out of sundry sortes’ and ‘rese[m]ble no notable shape, nor exercise any worthy property of the true perfect and gentle kind, it is not necessarye that I write any more of them’, and so ‘banishe[s] them as vnprofitable implements, out of the boundes of [his] Booke’.³⁶ Despite the important roles that these dogs perform, Caius takes issue with the fact that they are not what would now be considered purebreds and so reduces them to tools that bring little profit to their human masters.

The categories Caius applies in *Of Englishe Dogges* demonstrates that although these animals are known collectively as dogs, there is a clear hierarchy among the different types. This hierarchy is famously expressed in *Macbeth*:

Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men;
 As hounds, and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
 Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves are clept
 All by the names of dogs: the valu’d file
 Distinguishes the swift, the slow, the subtle,
 The housekeeper, the hunter, every one
 According to the gift which bounteous Nature
 Hath in him clos’d; whereby he does receive
 Particular addition from the bill
 That writes them all alike; and so of men. (III.i.91-100)

³³ Caius, sig.F^r.

³⁴ Caius, sig.F^v, F2^r.

³⁵ Caius, sig.F^v, F2^r.

³⁶ Caius, sig.F^v.

It is likely that Macbeth's speech draws upon the different types of dogs named in *Of English Dogges*, which suggests that Shakespeare read this text and was influenced by its presentation of the services dogs provided for humans.³⁷ Macbeth's speech also demonstrates that Shakespeare mapped the hierarchies found in the canine world onto the human to think through differences in social status and 'breeding'.

Hunting hounds were the preferred canine companions of the ruling elite due to the central role they performed in their favoured pastime. It is therefore unsurprising that Caius not only begins his text with an account of hounds but also provides more details for their many attributes and uses. Notably, hounds were almost exclusively owned by the ruling elite as Game Laws restricted their ownership to individuals of a certain social status. These laws were first enforced in 1389 under King Richard II to prevent 'artificers, labourers and servants and grooms' from keeping greyhounds and other hunting dogs, largely to stop poaching.³⁸ In addition, individuals without a significant estate were not allowed to own hunting hounds that had not been 'lawed' or 'expediated', which involved 'amputating either three claws of the anterior feet or the left claws of all four feet'.³⁹ This procedure, which prevented hounds from chasing game, demonstrates that they were only owned by common people on certain conditions. The Game Laws therefore placed hunting hounds at the top of the canine hierarchy.

Caius also suggests that lapdogs are 'a kinde of dogge accepted among gentles, Nobles, Lordes, Ladies'.⁴⁰ The fashion and affection for lapdogs is confirmed in contemporary accounts. For example, when Anne Boleyn's beloved lapdog Porkuy died after falling from a window, only King Henry VIII could deliver the devastating news to the Queen.⁴¹ It appears that the

³⁷ For further evidence that Shakespeare read *Of Englishe Dogges*, see W. Harris, 'One of Shakespeare's Books', *The Antiquary*, 3 (1881), 209-212.

³⁸ '13 Richard II, stat. I, cc.8-9', in *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by Alexander Luders, T. E. Tomlins, John France, W. E. Tarnnton and John Raithby, 11 vols: 2 (London: Record Commission, 1816), p.63.

³⁹ Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.71.

⁴⁰ Caius, sig.G^v.

⁴¹ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), p.108.

attachment between humans and lapdogs was reciprocated, as when Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was brought to her execution she was said to have hidden one of the little dogs under her skirts that had kept her company during her imprisonment. The account of her execution suggests that the dog ‘afterward wold not departe from the dead corpse, but came and lay betweene her head and her shoulders’ and ‘could not be gotten forth but by force’.⁴² Although these accounts portray lapdogs as loving companions, Caius is critical of the excessive affection shown to them because he does not believe they have an important use other than as a ‘chamber co[m]panion’, ‘pleasaunt playfellow’, and ‘pretty worme’.⁴³ Although the first two descriptions are praiseworthy, the last enforces their lack of use by emphasising the diminutive size of lapdogs.

Ian MacInnes has demonstrated that because lapdogs were associated with women they were ‘decried as [...] effeminate’ in the early modern period.⁴⁴ This view of lapdogs is particularly evident in Caius’s extended account of the favoured *Canis Melitæus* (Maltese):

These dogges are litle, pretty, proper, and fyne, and sought for to satisfie the delicatenesse of daintie dames, and wanton womens wills, instrumentes of folly for them to play and dally withall, to tryfle away the treasure of time, to withdraw their mindes from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupted concupiscences with vaine disport (A selly shift to shunne yrcksome ydlnesse.) These puppies the smaller they be, the more pleasure they prouoke, as more meete play fellowes for minsing mistrisses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe company withal in their chambers, to succour with sleepe in bed, and nourishe with meate at bourde, to lay in their lappes, and licke their lippes as they ryde in their waggons, and good reason it should be so, for cournesse with fynenesse hath no fellowship, but featnesse with neatenesse hath neighbourhood enough.⁴⁵

There is a significant shift in tone in this section of the text through the use of alliteration and rhyme, which accentuates the associations of lapdogs with frivolity. Caius’s criticism is not

⁴² ‘A Reporte of the MANNER of the EXECUTION of the Sc. Q. performed the viijth. Of February, Anno 1586 in the great hall of Fotheringhay, with Relation of Speeches uttered and Accions happening in the said Execution, from the delivery of the said Sc. Q. to Mr. Thomas Androwes Esquire Sherife of the County of Northampton unto the end of the said Execution’, in *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. by Henry Ellis, 4 vols: 3 (London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1824), pp.113-118, (p.117).

⁴³ Caius, sig.D3^v.

⁴⁴ MacInnes, ‘Mastiffs and Spaniels’, p.22.

⁴⁵ Caius, sig.D2^v-D3^r.

solely directed at the *Canis Melitæus* but at their owners, the ‘daintie dames’, ‘wanton women’ and ‘minsing mistrisses’, who take such pleasure in these little dogs. There is also an inversion of the natural hierarchy as humans are portrayed as serving their dogs by allowing them every comfort from sleeping in their beds to feeding them from their own plates. Caius’s account therefore demonstrates that such dogs were treated with great affection despite not performing a profitable role for their human masters.

The different types of dogs represented in *Of Englishe Dogges* provide ready-made metaphors for the various individuals that served and counselled monarchs in the early modern period. Firstly, it is their lack of demonstrable use that led to comparisons between lapdogs and self-serving courtiers. For example, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), Francis Meres states:

As the dogges of Malta are especially delighted in among the rich and delicate women of that Ile: so effeminate princes doe greatly sette by flatterers, who both speak and do all things according to their humours.⁴⁶

In this figuration, Meres suggests that lapdogs resemble those who flatter rulers and cater to their every whim. However, just as Caius mainly criticises the women who favour the *Canis Melitæus*, Meres blames the ‘effeminate princes’ for surrounding themselves with such flatterers. Although Caius represents hunting hounds in a more positive manner than lapdogs, the affection shown to hounds and the money spent on their upkeep was a source of discontent in the early modern period.⁴⁷ The woodcuts included in hunting manuals, such as George Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1575), convey the amount of money that was spent on the elaborate kennels that housed these dogs (Figure 4.2). In addition, the lengthy descriptions of how to care for hunting hounds demonstrates the attention shown to them, often to the detriment of human servants.⁴⁸ We may recall here Petruchio affectionately calling for his

⁴⁶ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury, Being the Second Part of Wits Commonwealth* (London, 1598), sig.Ff.

⁴⁷ Thomas, p.102.

⁴⁸ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1575). Second edition: in George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1611). See also Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments* (London, 1615), sig.B3^v-E2^v.

‘spaniel Troilus’ in Act Four, Scene One of *The Taming of the Shrew*, while repeatedly striking and insulting his human servants (IV.i.138). As hunting hounds were valued for their ability to kill, they are used to represent those individuals that the ruling elite require, as Poole argues, to carry out ‘their dirty work’. However, their predatory nature also makes hunting hounds a threat to those they serve, as was often expressed through references to the Acteon myth. On a more optimistic note, the dogs of the homely kind, such as mastiffs and ban-dogs, often represent those individuals who are unfailingly loyal to their masters and defend them from harm. It is, however, the responsibility of the monarch to decide whom they should turn to for counsel.

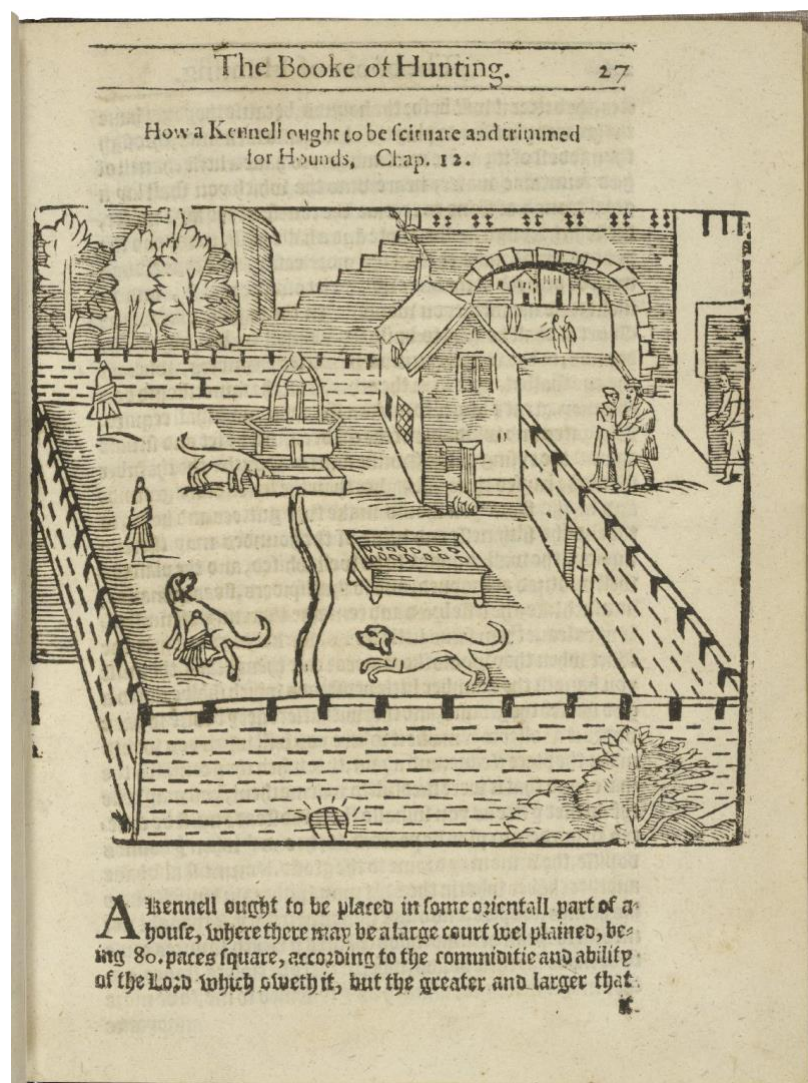


Figure 4.2: ‘How a Kennell ought to be situate and trimmed for Houndes’, in George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1611), sig.B6^r. Image used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The only known completed portrait of Elizabeth I that features a dog is the so-called *Peace Portrait* by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (Figure 4.3). This portrait, which is believed to have been painted at the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish war, represents Elizabeth as the bringer of peace; she holds an olive branch in her right hand and a sheathed sword lies at her feet, in close proximity to a small white lapdog (possibly a Bichon Frise or a Maltese lapdog). It can be argued that a lapdog was used in the portrait of Elizabeth I because it was a more suitable companion for a female monarch. In her study of visual representation of the canine species throughout history, Tamsin Pickeral suggests that '[t]ypically, though not always, large dogs of mastiff or hound type were painted accompanying men in portraits, while women were joined on the canvas by little dogs'.⁴⁹ However, she notes that by the seventeenth century, 'more small dogs were seen in male portraiture and their popularity for men increased'.⁵⁰ Such paintings were part of the 'noble dog portrait' tradition, in which sitters were infused with the nobility, masculinity, strength, stamina and faithfulness associated with dogs.⁵¹ One notable example is Titian's 1529 portrait of Federico Gonzaga with a fawning Maltese dog.⁵² There are also portraits from the period of other European female rulers with large hunting hounds, such as González Bartolomé's 1609 portrait of Queen Margaret of Austria with her dog Baylán.⁵³ The inclusion of the small white dog in the *Peace Portrait* was likely a deliberate choice in order to suggest that Elizabeth did not have any need for 'dogs of war' and, as the lapdog waits dutifully by its mistress, that she commands the willing obedience of her subjects (*Julius Caesar* III.i.273).⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Tamsin Pickeral, *The Dog: 5000 Years of the Dog in Art* (London: Merrell, 2008), p.117.

⁵⁰ Pickeral, p.117.

⁵¹ John Beusterien, *Canines in Cervantes and Velázquez: An Animal Studies Reading of Early Modern Spain* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.83.

⁵² Titian, *Federico Gonzaga, 1st Duke of Mantua*, 1529, oil on panel, 125 x 99 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

⁵³ González Bartolomé, *Queen Margaret of Austria*, 1609, oil on canvas, 116 x 100 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. For further discussion of this portrait, see Pickeral, p.119.

⁵⁴ Although it is unlikely that this animal represents a specific canine companion, we know that Elizabeth did have many lapdogs. For example, there is an account of the clown Richard Tarlton incorporating one of Elizabeth I's dogs into a court performance, which is discussed in greater detail below: London, National Archives, SP 12/215, fol.175^v.



Figure 4.3. Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, *The Wanstead or Welbeck Portrait of Elizabeth I or The Peace Portrait of Elizabeth I*, c.1580-1585, oil on panel, 45.7 x 38.1 cm, The Portland Collection, The Harley Gallery, Welbeck, Nottinghamshire.

The *Peace Portrait* was probably commissioned by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who appears to be depicted in the background with his wife and daughter. Leicester is believed to have commissioned another portrait of Elizabeth I in 1575 by Federico Zuccaro, which also featured a lapdog, as well as a partner portrait of himself.⁵⁵ Only the sketch for the portrait of Elizabeth survives, but a small dog is clearly visible on top of a pillar in the left-hand side of the image alongside an ermine. The ermine was also associated with Elizabeth, as is attested to by the so-called *Ermine Portrait* (c.1585), in which a small white stoat is depicted with a crown around its neck to represent the Queen's purity and majesty.⁵⁶ Given the connection between Dudley and two of the only known images of Elizabeth I that include lapdogs, it can be argued

⁵⁵ Federico Zuccaro, *Queen Elizabeth I*, 1575, black and red chalk on paper, 36.5 x 27.5 cm, British Museum, London; Federico Zuccaro, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 1585, black and red chalk on paper, 37.8 x 27.5 cm, British Museum, London.

⁵⁶ Attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, *The Ermine Portrait*, c.1585, oil on panel, 105.4 x 86.4 cm, Hatfield House, Hatfield.

that the Earl requested for them to be included to convey his loyalty and subservience to the Queen. By extension, the connection between the two paintings confirms that Leicester's dog Boye was included in a 1564 portrait of the Earl as a symbol of his fidelity (Figure 4.4).⁵⁷ In relation to this, when Leicester planned to travel to the French Court in 1566 at the request of Catherine de Medici, Elizabeth was angered by his intentions to leave her and allegedly informed him, 'You are like my little dog. As soon as he is seen anywhere, people know that I am coming, and when you are seen, they say I am not far off'.⁵⁸ While this story may be apocryphal, it is clear in the visual record that Leicester willingly represented himself as Elizabeth's loyal dog. However, the inclusion of Boye in his own portrait suggests that Leicester was capable of commanding loyalty himself; he therefore used the tradition of the 'noble dog portrait' to convey his own authority in the political hierarchy.



Figure 4.4. Steven van der Meulen, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, c.1564, oil on panel, 107 x 80 cm, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire (on loan from the *Rothschild Collection*). Image used with permission of the Waddesdon Image Library, Public Catalogue Foundation.

⁵⁷ Unknown artist, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 1564, oil on panel, 107 x 80 cm, *The Rothschild Collection*, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.

⁵⁸ This story is cited in Elizabeth Jenkins, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1961), p.129 and Sarah Gristwood, *Elizabeth & Leicester: Power, Passion, Politics* (London: Bantam Books, 2007), p.254.

The most famous dog-like servant at James I's court was Robert Cecil (the first Earl of Salisbury and James's Chief Minister), who the King nicknamed his 'little beagle'.⁵⁹ This sobriquet indicates the important function Cecil performed in serving his royal master but also denotes his subservience and possibly also his physical deformity. Frederick George Marcham suggests that James's nickname for Cecil 'was not a mark of special friendship or favour; it was nothing but a product of James' frivolous and trifling manner'.⁶⁰ Alan Stewart takes a more considered reading of Cecil's nickname and suggests that this nomenclature may provide insights into 'James's chosen style of government in the first decade of his English reign, a style in which hunting played a significant role'; he claims that in this 'economy, being the master's top dog was the highest compliment'.⁶¹ While Cecil may have taken issue with the King's nickname for him, one of James's later favourites, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, willingly embraced this canine epithet and signed most of his letters to the King as 'your majesty's most humble slave and dog'.⁶²

The above accounts show that during the reigns of both Elizabeth I and James I, courtiers and counsellors willingly represented themselves as dogs in order to promote the services and loyalty they could offer to royals, which thus demonstrates that canine associations were not necessarily wholly derogatory in the early modern period. Moreover, these accounts suggest that while a ruler should not emulate the attributes of dogs, they should make good use of subjects who display the characteristic loyalty and obedience of canines, particularly those who offered honest counsel.

⁵⁹ For further discussion of Cecil's designation as James I's 'little beagle', see Frederick George Marcham, 'James I of England and the Little Beagle Letters', in *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), pp.311–34 (p.321); Alan Stewart, 'Government by Beagle: The Impersonal Rule of James VI and I', in *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (University of Illinois Press, 2004), pp.101–115.

⁶⁰ Marcham, p.333.

⁶¹ Stewart, pp.101, 107.

⁶² See David M. Bergeron, *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), pp.179–219.

Counsel was one of the central issues of the early modern period because the individuals that attended the monarch could have a direct impact on the governance of the country. As Hadfield argues in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics*, '[s]erious political power belonged to the circle that surrounded the monarch, those to whom he or she turned to for advice when necessary, the court and royal councils.'⁶³ Similarly, in the introduction to their edited volume *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, David Armitage, Conal Condren and Andrew Fitzmaurice suggest that 'the character and spirit of those making up the polity [...] was crucial to its political health', which consequently 'placed enormous emphasis upon the role of political counsel and persuasion in the proper functioning of politics.'⁶⁴ Joanne Paul has explored the importance of political counsel from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, with a particular focus on the individuals that surround monarchs in both formal and informal capacities, and the 'dubious reputation of the counsellor.'⁶⁵ In discourses concerned with counsel in the early modern period, well-intentioned individuals enforce sovereign power, while those who are motivated by their own interests undermine it. Hadfield suggests that Shakespeare was directly concerned with these issues and sought to 're-activate native traditions of counsel, advice and the influence of advisory bodies', thereby joining the ranks of dramatists who took an active role in advising monarchs through their plays.⁶⁶ In fulfilling this function, dramatists could be considered counsellors to the ruling elite, particularly if they gained royal patronage and their plays were performed at court.

While it was essential for rulers to be surrounded by experienced and trusted advisors that they could rely upon to provide good counsel, they also required a large retinue of individuals to

⁶³ Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), p.2.

⁶⁴ David Armitage, Conal Condren and Andrew Fitzmaurice, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, ed. by David Armitage, Conal Condren and Andrew Fitzmaurice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.1-22 (pp.4, 5).

⁶⁵ Joanne Paul, 'Counsel and Command in Anglophone Political Thought, 1485-1651' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2013), p.191.

⁶⁶ Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics*, p.34. See also Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

signify their power and authority, who were likely to have self-interested motivations for offering their services. Both types of servants would be required to temper their criticisms to maintain employment, much like playwrights. Servants to the monarch may therefore have been obsequious, often necessarily so, but this did not always denote disloyalty. As Erasmus observes in *The Praise of Folie* (first published 1511 and translated into English 1549): ‘For what can be more faunyng, and flattryng to a man, than a dogge? but than againe, what is more faiethful?’⁶⁷ The necessity of flattery indicates a fault in the ruler, not the individual providing counsel. In her discussion of early modern political treatises that were concerned with counsel, Jacqueline Rose notes that, when considering how to deliver negative criticism, ‘while upholding due deference’, many referred to the ‘classical dichotomy between flattery appealing to passions; and counsel appealing to reason.’⁶⁸ Flattery was therefore perceived to cater to the animal side of the monarch and counsel to the human. The need to deliver criticism in an obsequious manner thus blurs the distinction between the human and the animal for both the counsellor and the counselled.

While it may be assumed that any comparisons to dogs would be considered derogatory, there are several instances in early modern texts where truthful advisers to the monarch, who deliver sometimes unwelcome but nonetheless necessary criticism, are compared to dogs. One particularly insightful example is James Chillester’s 1571 translation of Pierre Boaistuau’s *A most excellent Hystorie, Of the Institution and first beginning of Christian Princes*. Paul argues that Chillester’s translation adopts the ‘counsel-through-history’ model in ‘an attempt to present specific relevant counsel to the queen’.⁶⁹ In the prologue to this text, which Paul describes as ‘an elaborate treatise on flattery’, animal imagery is used to praise those who criticise rulers and

⁶⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Follie*, trans. by Thomas Chaloner (London, 1549), sig.I2^v.

⁶⁸ Jacqueline Rose, ‘Kingship and Counsel in Early Modern England’, *The Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), 47-71 (p.68).

⁶⁹ Paul, ‘Counsel’, p.162.

condemn fawning sycophants.⁷⁰ The text suggests that despite knowing that ‘their Princes and Lordes want greatly admonition and counsell’:

flattering and mealy mouthed friends of the pleasaunt Court, thinking to lose the praie that they seeke for, or to runne into the dysgrace and dyspleasure of their Lordes and Maisters, oftentimes do stoppe their eares, become mute and dumbe, and passe vnder consent the enormities and abuses they see.⁷¹

These flatterers are compared to hunting hounds that seek out preference from Lords, here described as their ‘praie’, and as they are afraid of losing favour by speaking the truth are therefore ‘mute’ like animals. Notably, ‘mealy mouthed’ is commonly used to denote a person who does not speak plainly and also to describe the speckled colouration of an animal’s nose or mouth; this comparison thus further dehumanises flatterers.⁷² Nevertheless, it is suggested that such individuals are better than the ‘vermine’ that are often found ‘in the Pallaces of Princes, Kings and great Lords’, who are described in a marginal note as ‘Those that doo flatter Princes and lead them to wickednesse’.⁷³ Boaistuau compares these flatterers to ‘pestilent Vipers’ and ‘Serpents’, due to the poisonous nature of their words.⁷⁴

To avoid the harmful effects of flatterers, Boaistuau suggests that princes, kings and lords should surround themselves with philosophers, as they have ‘frank and discrete mouthes’ and will ‘tel them the truth’.⁷⁵ Boaistuau gives the example of Demetrius the Cynic, who Apollonius assigned as an adviser to Titus Flavius Vespasianus, informing him that the philosopher was ‘a dog, that shal bee capable of reason, and shall bark agaynst all men, yea euen against your owne selfe if ye shal do any thing worthy of reprehensio[n]’.⁷⁶ Cynics were commonly attributed with canine characteristics due to the popular, but falsely applied, etymology of the Greek word

⁷⁰ Paul, ‘Counsel’, p.163.

⁷¹ Pierre Boaistuau, *A Most Excellent Hystorie, Of the Institution and First Beginning of Christian Princes*, trans. by James Chillester (London, 1571), sig.B3^r.

⁷² ‘mealy, adj.1’; ‘mealy, adj.4’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2018) <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/115431?rskey=0tZh6D&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 29 January 2018].

⁷³ Boaistuau, sig.B3^r, B3^r-B3^v.

⁷⁴ Boaistuau, sig.B3^v.

⁷⁵ Boaistuau, sig.B3^v.

⁷⁶ Boaistuau, sig.B3^v, B3^v-B4^r.

kynikos meaning ‘dog-like’, as well as their biting counsel.⁷⁷ Titus eagerly accepted Demetrius as his adviser for this reason, asserting that he would ‘not onely suffer him to bark but also to scratch & bite if he see me co[m]mit any iniustice, or any other act vnseemly for the maiestie of mine estate & empire.’⁷⁸ Similarly, Diogenes, arguably the most famous dog-like Cynic, willingly embraced his sobriquet and claimed that while ‘other dogs bite their enemies, I bite my friends to save them’.⁷⁹ Boaistuau makes it the responsibility of princes to accept such forthright advice and praises rulers, such as Alexander the Great because he ‘did not disdain the seuere answer of that miserable & abiect man *Diogenes*’.⁸⁰ In Boaistuau’s text, philosophers who highlight the failings of rulers in a canine manner are commended for their honest counsel, no matter how disagreeable it may be.

A comparison between dogs and counsellors is also found in Topsell’s *Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts* (1607). The section on the ‘Shepherds Dog’, features the sheep’s complaint that despite providing the shepherd with ‘milk, lambs, and cheese’, they receive ‘nothing but that which groweth out of the earth, which we gather by our own industry’, while his dog, who does not provide the shepherd with food, is ‘feedest with thine own hand, & bred from thine own trencher’.⁸¹ Upon hearing this complaint, the dog defended his preferment: ‘I looke vnto you, and watch you from the rauening Wolfe, and pilfering theefe, so as if once I forsake you, then it will not bee safe for you, to walke in your pastures, for perrill of death’; to which ‘the sheepe yeelded, and not replyed to the reasonable answer of so vnreasonable a beast.’⁸² The political implications of this allegorical tale are made clear in the following commentary:

this complaint you must remember was vttered when Sheepe could speake, as well as men, or else it noteth the foolish murmuring of some vulgar persons, against the chiefe ministers of state, that are liberally rewarded by the princes

⁷⁷ Robert D. Morritt, *Echoes from the Greek Bronze Age: An Anthology of Greek Thought in the Classical Age* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), p.95.

⁷⁸ Boaistuau, sig.B4^r.

⁷⁹ Morritt, p.95.

⁸⁰ Boaistuau, sig.B4^r.

⁸¹ Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.P^v, P2^r.

⁸² Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.P2^r-P2^v, P2^v.

owne hands, for their watchfull custody of the common-wealth, and thus much for the shepherds Dogge.⁸³

A direct link is drawn here between chief ministers and dogs in order to suggest that they perform an important role in protecting the people — traditionally represented as a flock of sheep — and are therefore suitably rewarded for their work. However, this commentary also recalls the beast fable tradition which, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, was often employed by early modern writers to reflect on topical events and to critique society. Due to the traditionally satirical nature of beast fables, Topsell arguably appropriates this tradition to criticise the rewards received by chief ministers and perhaps suggest that they should only be rewarded if they fulfil their roles as watch-dogs of the commonwealth.

Topsell's fable of the sheep and shepherd's dog draws on Plato's assertion in Book Two of *The Republic* that the guardians of the city should emulate the 'pedigree hound' because, although dogs have the ability to be 'aggressive towards one another and the rest of the citizens', 'it is the natural disposition of pure-bred dogs to be as gentle as possible to those they know and recognise, and the exact opposite to those they don't know.'⁸⁴ Erasmus challenges Plato's analogy in *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516) when he asks: 'Plato calls the princes the guardians of the state, in that they are to the nation what sheep dogs are to the flock; but if the sheep dogs turn into wolves, what hope is there then for the flock?'⁸⁵ Although the various translations of these texts offer slightly different implications, hounds or shepherd dogs are commonly used to represent counsellors in early modern texts as both dogs had highly-valued roles in human society. Taking Erasmus's warning into consideration, we can perhaps read a veiled warning in Topsell's figuration of chief ministers as shepherd dogs and their potential to turn on those they are charged to protect, becoming more akin to the ravenous wolf. In addition,

⁸³ Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.P2^v.

⁸⁴ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. by Tom Griffith and ed. by G. R. F. Ferrari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.375a, 2.375e.

⁸⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. by Neil M. Cheshire and Michael J. Heath, ed. by Lisa Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 [1516]), p.31.

Meres cites Plato's *Republic* in his *Palladis Tamia* to assert, 'As dogges doe watch flockes of sheep, not that they feare themselves, but the flocke: so a Prince or a king ought not to liue for himselfe, but for his people'.⁸⁶ In Meres's interpretation of this text, the monarch is cast as the sheepdog, which suggests it is their duty to serve their subjects and not their own interests.

Monarchs could ensure that they acted in their subjects' best interests by surrounding themselves with competent counsellors that did not flatter for preferment but instead offered valuable advice.

The connections between dogs and royal servants is also a common but largely unacknowledged trope in early modern plays. Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias* (c.1564) represents the three most common types of servants that were aligned with dogs in its opening scene. Aristippus, a philosopher-turned-courtier, discusses the significance of his transition:

And I profess now the court philosophy,
To crouch, to speak fair — myself I apply —
To feed the King's humour with pleasant devices,
For which I am called '*regius canis*' (1.19-22).⁸⁷

Although he conjures an image of himself as 'crouching' by his master's feet in a canine manner, Aristippus is clearly offended that he is regarded as Dionysius's dog, and claims he is only following the customs of the court, which require him to temper his speech when advising his master. He goes on to distinguish himself from parasites, such as Carisophus, who he informs:

I assure you, though I came from school
To serve in this court, I came not yet to be the King's fool.
Or to fill his ears with servile scurrility —
That office is yours, and know it right perfectly.
Of parasites and sycophants you are a grave bench,
The King feeds you often from his own trencher. (I.41-46)

⁸⁶ Meres, sig.Ff4^r-Ff4^v.

⁸⁷ Richard Edwards, 'Damon and Pythias', in *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performances in Sixteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ros King (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.109-185.

Aristippus turns the insult directed at him against Carisophus by insinuating that he is the real dog, through the reference to him being fed from the King's trencher. This image evokes the recurring motif of a servant being given scraps from their master's table, which implies subservience and a willingness to accept meagre rewards. The opening scene of *Damon and Pithias* therefore represents the well-intentioned philosopher-courtier and the servile sycophant as distinctly different types of dogs.

We are also introduced to Diogenes the Cynic in this scene when Aristippus states, 'But wot you who named me first the King's dog? / It was the rogue Diogenes, that vile grunting hog' (I.23-24). It is intentionally ironic that it is Diogenes the Cynic, here characterised as a pig, who calls Aristippus 'the King's dog', as Diogenes was commonly attributed with canine characteristics. For example, in John Lyly's *Campaspe*, which is likely to have been performed at court before Elizabeth I on 1 January 1584, Diogenes is said to do 'nothing but snarl and bite like a dog', and describes himself as a 'mastiff' when hungry' and a 'spaniel' when fed (V.i.29, 19-20).⁸⁸ Nevertheless, in Lyly's play, Diogenes is seen to be morally superior to the philosophers Plato, Aristotle and Chrysippus, who he criticises for advising Alexander the Great because he views the court as a corrupting influence. In response to Aristotle's claim that Diogenes is 'both in body and mind too crooked for a courtier', Diogenes responds, 'As good to be crooked and endeavour to make myself straight from the court as to be straight and learn to be crooked at court' (I.iii.141-2, 143-5). As Diogenes refuses to attend on Alexander, the King comes to the Cynic and greatly values his straight-talking counsel. Lyly arguably used the encounter between Alexander and Diogenes to support the view that monarchs benefit from individuals who do not flatter them but speak the truth.⁸⁹ Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* has the

⁸⁸ John Lyly, 'Campaspe', in *Campaspe, Sappho and Phao*, ed. by G. K. Hunter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.45-139. David Bevington argues against reading Diogenes as 'Lyly's self portrait', as the 'play itself demonstrates that Lyly is prepared to flatter monarchs when they are doing well': David Bevington, 'John Lyly and Queen Elizabeth: Royal Flattery in *Campaspe* and *Sappho and Phao*', *Renaissance Papers*, 1 (1966), 57-67 (p.59).

⁸⁹ This scene arguably influenced Shakespeare's parody of this event in *Lear* when the King meets Edgar disguised as Tom O'Bedlam (III.iv.150). For further discussion, see Steven Doloff, "'Let Me Talk with This Philosopher": The Alexander/Diogenes Paradigm in *King Lear*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 (1991), 253-255.

same moral, as the play ends with Dionysius's resolution to stop listening to flatterers, such as Carisophus, and become a better ruler. In so doing, Jennifer Richards argues that Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* 'makes a positive contribution to a dramatic debate in the early 1560s that was tending to emphasize only the tragic effects of the failure to listen to counsel'.⁹⁰ These debates were still relevant throughout Shakespeare's writing career and he, like Edwards and Lyly, uses the ambivalence surrounding dogs to think through the complexities of counselling members of the ruling elite who may not be willing to listen to honest advice.

The use of the canine trope in early modern drama to reflect on counsel is particularly notable when we consider that playwrights and players were themselves characterised as dogs. For example, in *The Spirit of Detraction* (1611) William Vaughan asserted, 'our common *Stage-players* and *Comicke-writers* have as many witnesses as the world hath eyes, that all kindes of persons, without respect of sexe or degree are nickt and nipped, rayled and reviled by these snarling curre-dogges'.⁹¹ While Vaughan obviously intended to criticise playwrights and players by comparing them to savage curs, some may have been pleased that their criticisms were associated with canine attacks. The section on dogs in Topsell's *Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, highlights the more positive appropriation of canine nature by authors: 'The voice of a Dogge, is by the learned, interpreted a rayling and angry speech: wherof commeth that *Canina facundia* among Authors, for rayling eloquence.'⁹² In addition, Mary Claire Randolph notes that early modern satirists would 'frequently picture themselves as barking dogs, showing their fangs, snapping, and sinking their pointed teeth deep in some sinner's vitals.'⁹³ However, as

⁹⁰ Jennifer Richards, 'Male Friendship and Counsel in Richard Edwards' *Damon and Pythias*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.293-308 (p.267).

⁹¹ William Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction* (London, 1611), sig.P3^v.

⁹² Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.N4^r.

⁹³ Mary Claire Randolph, 'The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory: Its Possible Relationships and Implications', *Studies in Philology*, 38 (1941), 125-157 (p.153). Randolph cites several instances where the canine trope occurs in 'titles and as extended metaphors' in texts from the period, such as *Micro-cynicon, Sixe Snarling Satyres* (1599), William Goddard's *A Mastif Whelp, with other ruff-Island-like Currs, fetch from among the Antipodes* (c.1616) and *The Mastive, or Young Whelp of the Old Dogge* (1615). For further discussion, see Randolph, pp.153-154.

dogs were also commonly associated with flattery in the period, they were an ambivalent emblem for playwrights and players who, due to the changing nature of patronage, had to maintain the favour of the nobles that patronised their companies and the paying audience members who attended the commercial theatres.

Meredith Ann Skura has discussed at length how the contradictory, and mostly negative, associations of flattery impacted the early modern player who ‘proudly secures the spotlight for himself and gets what he wants by being obsequious to the audience.’⁹⁴ Playwrights and players were consequently ‘known as parasites and flatterers’ because they were to some extent required to cater to their audience’s tastes in order to gain their applause and maintain popularity.⁹⁵ Skura builds on the cluster of associations that Caroline Spurgeon identified in Shakespeare’s plays around dogs, melting candy and fawning to suggest that, ‘the flattery network is only half of a larger complex in which the fawning spaniel becomes a circling cur (or circle of curs) who attack.’⁹⁶ This figuration casts the player in the role of Acteon, at the mercy of the fickle audience who assume the role of hunting hounds or, perhaps more appropriately for the theatre, the mastiffs and ban-dogs that were used to bait bears.⁹⁷ The slippage between player and audience as dogs emphasises the dual role of flattery in the relationship between entertainer and entertained; if players successfully flatter their audience, audiences will in turn flatter them with their applause and praise. However, by flattering their audience too resolutely, authors risk reducing themselves to fawning sycophants rather than biting critics. Dogs are therefore the perfect emblem for representing the opposing positions that early modern players occupied. The evident ambivalence around dogs in Shakespeare’s plays can therefore be at least partially attributed to the ambivalence he felt towards his audience members, be they nobles or commoners. As Skura argues, ‘[t]he actor’s scorn for the

⁹⁴ Meredith Ann Skura, *Shakespeare the Actor and the Purposes of Playing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p.171.

⁹⁵ Skura, p.171.

⁹⁶ Spurgeon, *Shakespeare’s Imagery*, pp.196-197; Skura, p.167.

⁹⁷ Skura, p.167.

flattering audience is inseparable from his dependence on them and their flattery.’⁹⁸

Shakespeare was not alone in grappling with these contradictions, particularly in the 1590s when playing companies were subject to numerous regulations and restraints by authorities.

There are notable parallels between the laws that were enforced to control dogs and those used to regulate players in the early modern period. For example, during the plague outbreak of 1592, a mayoral proclamation ordered that,

Noe person [...] shall kepe any dogg, or bitche, but such as they will keepe within there own doors, withhowt suffering them to goe loose in the streets, not led in slippe or lyne, nor within there owne doores making howling or other annoyaunce to there neighbours. And that the Common hunts man shall have special charge to kill every dogg or Bitch, as shalbe found loose in any street or lane [...] And if he be remisse and negligent, and wittingly spare and shewe favour in not killing any such dogge or Bitche, he shall loose his place and service, and suffer Imprisonmente.⁹⁹

In his seminal study on early modern ‘dog massacres’, Jenner demonstrates that the attempts to regulate canine behaviour and the slaughter of dogs during times of plague throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were inextricably linked to early modern notions of social control and order due to the ‘extraordinary variety of emphatically anthropocentric meanings’ associated with canines in this period.¹⁰⁰ He asserts that the regulations for dogs to be held on leashes or risk being executed ensured that they were ‘visibly and physically fixed within a particular social relationship. Their slaughter was a symbolic warning to the rest of the population.’¹⁰¹ However, such warnings were limited to the lower levels of the population, as lapdogs and hounds were excluded from the regulations and culls.¹⁰² Jenner argues that this was because common dogs, which were regarded as less valuable and occupied the liminal space

⁹⁸ Skura, p.167.

⁹⁹ London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/01/01/024, fol.130^v, cited by Jenner, p.48. Matthew Henry Oram has explored the role of the Common Hunt in enforcing these regulations: Matthew Henry Oram, ‘The Common Hunt and the Doghouse’, *The Guildhall Association Papers*, (1978), 1-8 <<https://gha386.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/6-the-common-hunt-and-the-doghouse.pdf>> [accessed 27 August 2017].

¹⁰⁰ Jenner, p.53.

¹⁰¹ Jenner, p.56.

¹⁰² Jenner, p.55.

between the home and the street, ‘were a *visible* source of disorder’.¹⁰³ The lives of dogs considered to be of a lower ‘breed’ were therefore dependent on them being visibly attached to their human masters.

Comparably, A. L. Beier has shown that ‘masterless men’ were regarded as a serious problem in the early modern period because, like the dogs that freely wandered the streets, ‘vagabonds appeared to threaten the established order’ for the dominant classes.¹⁰⁴ Bier notes that, following a statute of 1572, ‘common players in interludes and minstrels’, who were not patronized by royals, nobles or corporations, were also regarded as vagabonds. A revised version of the 1572 ‘Acte for the punishment of Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars’ was passed on 9 February 1598, which authorised only players who belonged to a Baron or individual of higher degree and took away the Justices’ powers to license plays. Furthermore, on 19 February 1598, the Privy Council informed the Master of the Revels and the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey that only the Lord Admiral’s Men and the Lord Chamberlain’s Men would be permitted to perform in London.¹⁰⁵ These acts meant that players who did not belong to a licensed company that was under the patronage of the ruling elite, were technically masterless men and therefore vulnerable to persecution. In addition, when the public theatres were closed by authorities during the numerous plague outbreaks in London — as happened frequently between 1592 and 1594 — companies were dispersed for unknown periods of time, forcing them to find alternative means of employment. Given that playwrights and players were unfavourably compared to dogs by anti-theatricalists, such as Vaughan, those left unemployed and vulnerable to persecution during plague epidemics and subsequent theatre closures may have empathised with the stray dogs that were regularly rounded up and executed, which arguably influenced the ambivalent employment of canine imagery in early modern drama.

¹⁰³ Jenner, p.55.

¹⁰⁴ A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), p.xix.

¹⁰⁵ For further discussion, see David Thomas, David Carlton and Anne Etienne, ‘Theatre Censorship under the Royal Prerogative’, in *Theatre Censorship: From Walpole to Wilson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.6-24 (pp.6-11).

The clown or fool figure was attributed with canine characteristics more than any other entertainer figure. Indeed, all the plays discussed in this chapter feature a clown or fool that is connected to dogs in some way: Will Sommers in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Carlo Buffone in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, Launce in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and the Fool in *King Lear*. While it is uncertain who played Will Sommers, Launce was probably played by Will Kempe, and Carlo Buffone and the Fool are likely to have been played by Robert Armin. Notably, David Wiles suggests that Armin 'clearly had a physical affinity with dogs', because his 'shape and size gave point to the recurrent image of the cringing dog.'¹⁰⁶ However, neither the clown or the fool characters that Armin represents in *Every Man Out* and *Lear* can be resolutely compared to 'cringing dogs'; rather, they are characterised as vicious critics.

The comparison drawn between Armin and dogs was perhaps due more to theatrical tradition rather than his physical appearance since, as Richard Beadle has demonstrated, clowns and fools were often associated with dogs.¹⁰⁷ Most notably, the famous stage clown Richard Tarlton performed with 'a dogge of fine qualities'.¹⁰⁸ Tarlton also successfully incorporated one of Elizabeth I's lapdogs into a court performance in August 1578, when he played 'the God Lar with a flitch of bacon at his back', and the Queen 'bid them take away the knaue for making her to laugh so excessively for togging against her litle dogge perrico de faldas with his sword & longstaffe, & had bid the Queene take off her mastie'.¹⁰⁹ Tarlton evidently recognised the entertainment value of dogs for all social classes. However, as previously stated, clowns and fools did not only perform alongside dogs but appear to have been assimilated with them. Clowns could be set on individuals, like hunting hounds unleashed on prey, and also enjoyed a comparable degree of intimacy with their masters to that experienced by lapdogs, due to the

¹⁰⁶ David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.73, 148.

¹⁰⁷ Beadle, pp.12-35.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Tarlton, *Tarltons Jests* (London, 1638), sig.E3^r-E3^v.

¹⁰⁹ London, National Archives, SP 12/215, fol.175^r. For a full transcription of this account, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'The Life, Death and Afterlife of Richard Tarlton', *The Review of English Studies*, 65 (2014), 18-32 (p.31).

entertainment and comfort they provided.¹¹⁰ A key example of this relationship between monarchs and fools is found in Robert Armin's text *Foole vpon Foole* (1600), in a section describing how King Henry VIII's famous fool, Will Sommers, 'to make the King merry asked him three questions'.¹¹¹ After succeeding in making the King laugh, who was previously said to be in 'melancholy & full of passion', Henry offers Sommers any 'reasonable' gift he desires.¹¹² Sommers 'Thankes Harry' but refuses a reward, claiming 'I need no-thing'.¹¹³ The familiarity implied by the informal address of 'Harry' demonstrates the warm relationship between Henry VIII and his fool. Moreover, the refusal of a gift suggests that the main motivation behind the fool's jest was to bring comfort to his master, not material remuneration. After succeeding in cheering up his royal master, Sommers is said to lay 'downe amongst the Spaniels to sleep'.¹¹⁴ By having Sommers sleep alongside Henry VIII's spaniels, Armin reminds his reader that while the clown occupies a privileged position that gave them a license to criticise the monarch, they were nonetheless abject figures that were positioned just above, if not akin to, their master's dogs in the court hierarchy.

In these dog-like fools we can perhaps see the representation of players more generally as they arguably portray the playwright's desire to speak truth to power with minimal consequences. During both the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, Shakespeare was fortunate enough to have been part of playing companies that were granted licenses and therefore enjoyed a certain degree of freedom. However, at the beginning of his career, his prospects were perhaps less

¹¹⁰ Alice Equestri has noted a connection drawn between natural fools and dogs due to their presumed idiocy. Equestri suggests that Caliban's description as a 'puppy-headed monster' in *The Tempest* refers to a skull abnormality known as *caput caninum* or dog's head, which was so-called because animals 'were said to have fewer sutures than men (hence their lower intelligence)': the skulls of dogs, in particular, as also Aristotle had written, "consists of one single undivided bone". See Alice Equestri, "*Armine...thou art a foole and knave*": *The Fools of Shakespeare's Romances* (Roma: Carocci, 2016), p.148. In addition, Erica Tietze-Conrat has demonstrated that court dwarfs were sometimes painted alongside large hunting hounds and lapdogs in early modern Europe. Tietze-Conrat specifically focuses on Antonis Mor's portrait of *Cardinal Granvelle's Dwarf* (c.1545) with a large hunting hound and suggests that in this image there is a 'conjunction of dwarf and dog', because 'both belong to the lord'. Erica Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art* (London: The Phaidon Press, 1957), pp.25-37, 25.

¹¹¹ Robert Armin, *Foole vpon Foole, or Six Sortes of Sottes* (London, 1600), sig.E3^v.

¹¹² Armin, *Foole*, sig.E3^v, E4^r.

¹¹³ Armin, *Foole*, sig.E4^r.

¹¹⁴ Armin, *Foole*, sig.E4^r.

certain until he joined the newly-formed Chamberlain's Men in 1594. When the theatres permanently reopened in 1594, the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men replaced the Queen's Men as the dominant company and in 1598, they were granted exclusive licenses which gave them a duopoly over playing in London. Richard Dutton argues that Armin's "licensed-fool" roles for the Chamberlain's Men 'became somehow associated with their new status as an "allowed" company'.¹¹⁵ These roles included Lear's Fool, Touchstone, Feste and Thersites, all of whom serve aristocrats and are 'uniquely licensed to speak their minds and not give offence (or be shielded from harm if they *do* give offence [...]).'¹¹⁶ Dutton argues that the freedoms and restrictions experienced by licensed fools 'mirrors that of the acting profession as a whole', and therefore suggests that in these roles, 'Armin invokes a metadramatic dimension, a reminder of the precise rules — social and political, as well as aesthetic — under which actors are allowed to "hold up a mirror to nature."'¹¹⁷ Playwrights and players were undoubtedly aware of the punishments they risked if the reflection they offered offended prominent individuals. As the Fool observes in *King Lear*, 'Truth's a dog that must to kennel' (I.iv.100). The following sections of this chapter will draw on the cultural associations of dogs with counsel, as is detailed above, to demonstrate that Shakespeare and his contemporaries employed the canine trope to reflect on the dangers of false flattery, the importance of honest counsel and the restraints that prevented playwrights from holding up a truly honest 'mirror' to their audiences.

4.2 '...bring all hounds, and no bandogges': An Alternative Context for *The Isle of Dogs*

Any discussion of the politically motivated use of the canine trope in early modern drama must consider Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson's *The Isle of Dogs*, an allegedly 'lewd plaie [...] contanyinge very seditious and sclanderous matter', which was performed by Pembroke's Men

¹¹⁵ Richard Dutton, *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p.35.

¹¹⁶ Dutton, p.35.

¹¹⁷ Dutton, p.35.

at the Swan Theatre in 1597.¹¹⁸ Due to its allegedly subversive content, the play was completely suppressed, leaving no known extant copies; Ben Jonson, Gabriel Spencer and Robert Shaw were arrested for their involvement, and subsequently imprisoned and interrogated in Marshalsea prison; and Thomas Nashe fled to Yarmouth to avoid the same punishment, or worse.¹¹⁹ *The Isle of Dogs* has also been credited with the closures of the theatres in July 1597 for approximately three months.¹²⁰ The consequences of *The Isle of Dogs* scandal demonstrate the potentially inflammatory use of dogs to critique the Elizabethan court in early modern drama. As the play is now lost we can only speculate about its subject matter. However, closer examination of the canine references in other writings by the two authors, most notably Nashe's only sole-authored play *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (c.1592) and Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), suggests that *The Isle of Dogs* did not only use canine imagery to represent courtiers as fawning sycophants, as is often suggested; this material indicates that the play also drew on the ambivalence surrounding dogs in the period to explore the role of authors who aimed to condemn societal vices, but who were required to temper their criticism to maintain employment and avoid becoming 'masterless' pariahs. Nashe and Jonson, however, did not appear to be afraid of causing a stir. Nashe was, after all, described as 'young Iuvenall, that byting Satyryst', in *Greene's Groats-worth of Wit* (1592), and Jonson's involvement in *The Isle of Dogs* earned him the label of 'Ban-dog' in Thomas Dekker's *Satiro-mastix* (performed in 1601 and printed in 1602).¹²¹ Like the Cynic Diogenes, Nashe and Jonson arguably embraced

¹¹⁸ 'Letter to Richard Topcliffe, 15 August 1597', in *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by John Roche Dasent, 46 vols: 27 (London: HMSO, 1903), p.338.

¹¹⁹ For more on the play's censorship, see Janet Clare, 'Art made tongue-tied by authority': *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp.51-55. There is one surviving textual trace of the play on the outer-cover of a manuscript containing works by Francis Bacon in the Duke of Northumberland's collection at Alnwick Castle which, amongst an inventory of writings previously included in the manuscript, lists 'Ile of doges frmn' by Thomas Nashe inferior plaiers'. This fragmentary piece of evidence suggests that the *The Isle of Dogs* was in circulation at some point before it was suppressed and William Proctor Williams suggests that a manuscript version may still exist in the Alnwick Castle archives: William Proctor Williams, 'What is a Lost Play?: Toward a Taxonomy of Lost Plays', in *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's England*, ed. by David McInnis and Matthew Steggle (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp.17-30 (p.29).

¹²⁰ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols: 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p.132.

¹²¹ Robert Greene, *Greenes Groats-worth of Wit* (London, 1592), sig.F^r; Thomas Dekker, *Satiro-mastix. Or the Vntrussing of the Humorous Poet* (London, 1602), sig.G4^r.

the sobriquet of ‘dog’ in order to differentiate themselves from the fawning courtiers that retained favour at court through sycophantic flattery.

Considering the likelihood that *The Isle of Dogs* was partly concerned with the muzzling of players, its suppression, the punishment of those involved, and the wider impact it had on playing, is ironic. The play may have almost led to the end of commercial theatres in London as an entry in Philip Henslowe’s diary asserts that, the ‘lordes of the cownsell’ had placed a ‘Restranyt’ on playing ‘by the meanes of playing the Jeyllle of dooges.’¹²² Henslowe refers here to a letter from the Privy Council, dated 28 July 1597, to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey informing them that:

Her Majestie being informed that there are verie greate disorders committed in the common playhouses both by lewd matters that are handled on the stages and by resorte and confluence of bad people, hathe given direction that not onlie no plaies shalbe used within London or about the citty or in any publike place during this time of sommer, but that also those play houses that are erected and built only for suche purposes shalbe plucked down.¹²³

The closure of the commercial theatres and the order to demolish all playhouses is frequently cited as evidence that *The Isle of Dogs* was an especially subversive play. William Ingram has challenged this narrative and argues that the request for the playhouses to be closed was not unusual, especially as playing was often suspended during hot months.¹²⁴ Indeed, a letter with the same date as the order for the playhouses to be closed was sent from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to the Privy Council requesting ‘the p^rsent staie & fynall suppressinge of the saide Stage playes, aswell at the Theatre Curten and banckside as in all other places in and

¹²² Phillip Henslowe, *Henslowe’s Diary*, ed. by W. W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), p.203.

¹²³ ‘Letter to the Justices of Middlesex, 28 July, 1597’, in *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by John Roche Dasent, 46 vols: 27 (London: HMSO, 1903), pp.313-314.

¹²⁴ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age: Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp.168-89. Ingram also questions the motivation of the informant who had disclosed the play’s supposedly seditious content. Citing a letter from the interrogator Richard Topcliffe to Robert Cecil, dated 10 August 1597, he suggests that as this informant hoped to gain favour for his intelligence, the play probably was not as subversive as the privy council documents imply (Ingram, p.182). Misha Teramura has furthered Ingram’s argument by identifying Topcliffe’s informant as William Udall, who was known for providing false information for his own benefit: Misha Teramura, ‘Richard Topcliffe’s Informant: New Light on *The Isle of Dogs*’, *Review of English Studies*, 68 (2017), 44-59.

about the Citie'.¹²⁵ While it is unlikely that *The Isle of Dogs* was solely responsible for the closure of the theatres in 1597, it appears to have been blamed for the consequences faced by players more generally. In Richard Lichfield's *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1598), the play is described as 'that most infamous, most dunsicall and thrice opprobrious worke *The Ile of Dogs*', thus highlighting its notorious reputation.¹²⁶ Moreover, Lichfield warns Nashe, who was presumably in Yarmouth at the time, 'if thou hadst remained still in London [...] thou mightest haue bin knockt on the head with many of thy fellowes these dog-daies'.¹²⁷ Lichfield suggests here that there was anger felt towards Nashe by his 'fellow' players for the hostile environment they faced as a result of *The Isle of Dogs*.

The efforts of the authorities to suppress *The Isle of Dogs* suggest that it caused serious offense to members of the ruling elite. For example, a letter from the Privy Council to Topcliffe, dated 15 August 1597, instructed him to gather intelligence from the players and Jonson, who they acknowledge 'was not only an actor but a maker of parte of the said plaie', as to what had 'become of the rest of theire fellowes that either had theire partes in the devysinge of that sedytious matter or that were actors or plaiers in the same, what copies they have given forth of the said playe and to whome'. The council also asked Topcliffe to 'peruse soch papers as were fownde in Nash his lodgings' to gain further information. The Privy Council's overall aim was to completely censor *The Isle of Dogs* and ensure that all involved parties did 'receave soche punyshment as theire leude and mutynous behavior doth deserve', in order to deter other playing companies from performing similarly seditious content.¹²⁸

Nashe reflected on his role in *The Isle of Dogs* in his last-known prose work *Lenten Stuffe* (1599), which provides further details about the play's content and production. Nashe describes

¹²⁵ London, London Metropolitan Archives, COL/RMD/PA/01/002, fol.171; cited in Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 4:321-22.

¹²⁶ Richard Lichfield, *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1598), sig.E4^v-F^r.

¹²⁷ Lichfield, sig.F4^r.

¹²⁸ 'Letter to Richard Topcliffe', p.338.

the play as, ‘That infortunate imperfit Embrion of my idle houres’ and explains, ‘I was so terrified with my owne encrease (like a woman long trauailing to bee deliuered of a monster) that it was no sooner borne but I was glad to run from it.’¹²⁹ In a marginal note, Nashe expounds on the metaphor of the play as an ‘An imperfit Embrio[n]’, explaining, ‘for I hauing begun but the induction and first act of it, the other foure acts without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope, by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine to.’¹³⁰ Nashe appears keen to distance himself from the play both physically, by fleeing to Yarmouth, and content-wise, by suggesting he only wrote the first section. He notably also blames the actors for the ‘trouble’ caused by *The Isle of Dogs*, which suggests that they added material or made their attacks on prominent individuals more obvious in performance, thus explaining the arrests of Jonson, Shaw and Spencer.¹³¹ However, when Nashe laments, ‘The straunge turning of the Ile of Dogs fro[m] a comedie to a tragedie two summers past’, he arguably identifies it as a comic satire, which suggests that the play text did originally ridicule specific people and offer a social critique.¹³² While *Lenten Stuffe* appears to offer an apology for *The Isle of Dogs*, Nashe probably used this prose text to mock the extreme reaction to the play; *Lenten Stuffe* is, after all, to use Hadfield’s description, Nashe’s ‘satirical masterpiece’.¹³³

There have been various attempts to deduce the specific target of *The Isle of Dogs*, but it is impossible to know for certain who the play attacked.¹³⁴ What the title of the play does make

¹²⁹ Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten Stuffe* (London, 1599), sig.B^v.

¹³⁰ Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, sig.B^v.

¹³¹ Fritz Levy argues that although there were strict prohibitions against members of the ruling elite being represented on the early modern stage there were instances when this rule was violated. He cites a letter written by Rowland Whyte to his master Sir Robert Sidney dated 26 October 1599, informing him that ‘the otherthrow of *Turnholt* was acted upon a Stage, and all your names used that were at yt; especially *Sir Fra. Veres*, and he that plaid that Part got a Beard resembling his, and a Watchett Sattin Doublett, with Hose trimmed with Silver Lace. You was also introduced, killing, slaying, and otherthrowing the *Spaniards*, and honourable Mention made of your Service, in seconding Sir Francis Vere, being engaged.’ See Fritz Levy, ‘The Theatre and the Court in the 1590s’, in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. by John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.274-300 (p.285). For further accounts of current affairs being represented on the early modern stage, see Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.170-176.

¹³² Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, sig.B^r.

¹³³ Andrew Hadfield, ‘A Red Herring?’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 45 (2015), 231-254 (p.247).

¹³⁴ Chambers suggests that *The Isle of Dogs* may have referenced soured relations between England and Poland in the late 1590s: Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 3:455. Alice-Lyle Scoufous argues that the play attacked the Cobham

clear, however, is that Nashe and Jonson drew directly upon the locale of the Isle of Dogs for inspiration, a peninsula on the north bank of the River Thames, which lay almost directly across from Greenwich Palace.¹³⁵ The Palace was a favoured royal residence for both Elizabeth I and James I during the summer months, largely because it encompassed Greenwich Park, which was used as a hunting ground by royals and their courtiers from at least the reign of Henry VIII.¹³⁶ Due to the island's proximity to Greenwich Palace and its hunting grounds, it is suggested that the Isle of Dogs may have been used to house the royal hounds and was named in reference to this function. This supposition is largely based upon an appendix to John Strype's updated version of John Stow's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), in which he claims that this marshy plot of land was, 'so called, because [...] (they say) the kennels for their dogs were kept on this marsh, which usually making a great noise, the seamen and others thereupon called the place the Isle of Dogs'.¹³⁷ Strype's cautious description casts doubt over the accuracy of this account. In addition, in Book One of the same text, Strype claims that the island gained its name after a man was murdered there by a Waterman and the victim's dog, who initially would not leave his master's body, identified the murderer.¹³⁸ It is likely that this account is apocryphal, especially when we consider its similarities to the stories cited as evidence of canine loyalty. Furthermore, neither of these reasons for the island's name are found in John Stow's original *Survey*, which was first printed in 1598.

family due to the frequent references to cobs in Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe*: Alice-Lyle Scoufos, *Shakespeare's Typological Satire* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1979), pp.246-62. Nicholl also suggests that the play attacked the Cobham family, as well as Elizabeth I: Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp.248-254. James H. Forse argues that the play drew on the rivalry between the Cecils and the Earl of Essex, with Essex as its principal target: James H. Forse, 'Ben Jonson's *The Isle of Dogs*: Politics and Playwriting in Elizabethan England', in *Art Imitates Business: Commercial and Political Influences in Elizabethan Theatre* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1993), pp.167-190. In contrast, Ian Donaldson suggests that the play was critical of the Cobham family and the Cecils: Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.119.

¹³⁵ Richard Hillman alternatively argues that 'the title has the potential to encompass all England and to gather its inhabitants under a (flea-infested?) blanket insult', with the play's title indicating the island of England: Richard Hillman, 'Returning to One's Vomit: An Intertextual Tour of *Eastward Ho's* Isle of Dogs', *Notes & Queries*, 53 (2006), 508-514 (p.509).

¹³⁶ Henry VIII kept deer in Greenwich Park from 1515 onwards: Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (eds.), *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Papermac, 1983), p.337.

¹³⁷ John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1720), p.102.

¹³⁸ Strype, p.43.

The Isle of Dogs was possibly chosen as a central locale for the play due to its connections with writers. For example, Helen Ostovich suggests that the Isle of Dogs ‘may have been treated as a liberty for snarling satirists attacking some political figure’, thus aligning the island with the playhouses that were strategically constructed outside of the City of London’s jurisdiction.¹³⁹ This interpretation corresponds with the representation of the Isle of Dogs in *The Return to Parnassus* (1606) as ‘the true home for unrestrained invective’.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Ian Donaldson argues that the Isle of Dog’s close proximity to Greenwich Palace, made it ‘an ironic mirror of the idealized world of Elizabeth’s court, and a place that delighted the attention of satirists: a kind of royal kennels, a natural home to sharp-fanged writers.’¹⁴¹ In line with Donaldson’s argument, the locale of the Isle of Dogs gave authors a spatial foundation from which to contrast their roles as counsellors with the questionable service provided by courtiers. As was discussed in the introduction to this chapter, both were characterised as dogs, with courtiers commonly being portrayed as fawning sycophants and authors as snarling critics. However, like courtiers, authors were often forced to flatter their patrons, be these nobles or public audiences, in order to maintain favour and employment.

Notably, *The Isle of Dogs* was written at a time when players were being actively prosecuted by authorities and the future of playing companies was uncertain. Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon, died on 23 July 1596 and was replaced as Lord Chamberlain by Lord Cobham (one of the possible targets of *The Isle of Dogs*). Nashe, who was under the patronage of George Carey, Hunsdon’s son, was evidently impacted by the Lord Chamberlain’s death as is indicated in a letter (Nashe’s only known surviving autograph correspondence) to George Carey’s agent, William Cotton, in 1596:

In towne I satyd (beaing earnestly inuited elsewhere) vpon had I wsit hopes, & an after haruest I expected by writing for the stage & for the presse, when now the players as if they had writt another Christs tears, ar piteously persecuted by

¹³⁹ Helen Ostovich, ‘Introduction’, in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.1-95 (p.29).

¹⁴⁰ Oliphant Smeaton, ‘Introduction’, in *Return from Parnassus*, ed. by Oliphant Smeaton (London: J. M. Dent, 1905), pp.vii-xxxii (p.xx).

¹⁴¹ Donaldson, p.117.

the L. Maior & the aldermen, & however in there Old Lords tyme they thought there state settled, it is now so vncertayne they cannot build vpon it.¹⁴²

As Aaron Kitch has argued, Nashe actively sought to distance himself from the ‘corrupting network of author-patron relations by earning a living solely from sales in print’; however, his dedications to aristocratic patrons, such as the Careys, indicate that he had difficulties in establishing his independence outside of ‘such an entrenched patronage network’.¹⁴³ Nashe probably planned to write plays for the Lord Chamberlain’s Men to gain an alternative source of income, only to find that the company was struggling after the death of their patron and due to the restrictions enforced against playing.¹⁴⁴ In this context, *The Isle of Dogs* may have drawn upon the persecution of canines to convey the precarity and oppression experienced by players and writers more generally. This interpretation is supported by Nashe’s use of animal imagery in the pamphlets *Pierce Penillessse* (1592) and *Strange Newes* (1592), to criticise the court and the restraints of patronage and censorship.

In *Pierce Penillessse*, a prose satire in which an unemployed author appeals to the Devil for money, Nashe depicts courtiers as dogs. He states that ‘yoong Courtiers’ wil alwayes bee hungry, and ready to bite at euery Dog that hath a boane giuen him beside themselues’, especially ‘if he see the Prince but giue his fellow a faire looke’.¹⁴⁵ Nashe suggests that such individuals, who fight amongst themselves like dogs for preferment at court, are dangerous by portraying them as disobedient shepherd dogs that, ‘may worry a sheepe in the dark, & thrust his necke into the collar of clemency & pity when he hath don’.¹⁴⁶ This analogy invokes the Platonic representation of counsellors as shepherd dogs but, in line with Erasmus’s warning,

¹⁴² London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius Caesar 3, fol.280^r. For a facsimile of this letter, see R. B. McKerrow (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 2nd edn, revised by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols: 5 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), pp.195-6. For further discussion of this letter, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, ‘Thomas Nashe and William Cotton: Parallel Letters, Parallel Lives’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 19 (2016), 1-13. For further discussion of Nashe’s relationship with the Careys, see Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, pp.181-202.

¹⁴³ Aaron Kitch, *Political Economy and the States of Literature in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp.77.

¹⁴⁴ Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p.236.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penillessse his Supplication to the Diuell* (London, 1592), sig.C4^v.

¹⁴⁶ Nashe, *Pierce Penillessse*, sig.C3^v.

suggests that they prey upon those they are meant to protect, feigning innocence of their involvement. Nashe complains that individuals such as these, ‘that haue no extraordinarie gifts of body, nor of minde’, are able to ‘filche themselues into some Noble mans seruice, either by bribes or by flattery’.¹⁴⁷ He laments the injustice of this system: ‘Thus do weeds grow vp [...] whilst the scouters of Enuie contemne the attempts of any such small Barkes.’¹⁴⁸ Nashe suggests that those who criticise such fawning flatterers are disregarded as envious dogs in order to undermine their complaints, here described as ‘small Barkes’. He does, however, acknowledge that there are those that ‘run their words at random like a dog that hath lost his master, and are vppre with this man and that man, and generally inuay against al men’.¹⁴⁹ While Nashe characterises courtiers as canines fighting over scraps, he also associates those who attack individuals indiscriminately with masterless dogs which, as Jenner’s research has shown, were perceived to pose a threat to the social order. This criticism suggests that there should be a higher purpose to satire than just arbitrary attacks on notable individuals.

That Nashe felt it was important for writers to criticise the ruling elite who abused their positions is clear in his declaration in *Pierce Penilesse*: ‘We want an *Aretine* here among vs, that might strip these golden asses out of their gaie trappings’.¹⁵⁰ Kitch suggests that while Nashe sought to model himself on Aretino, who was regarded as ‘a defender of poets’ and ‘celebrated as a “scourge of Princes”’, this desire ‘mixed uneasily with the demands of a professional author in late Tudor England’.¹⁵¹ Nashe demonstrates his awareness that he could not openly criticise prominent members of the ruling elite in *Pierce Penilesse* when he states, ‘[t]he Court I dare not touch’.¹⁵² This is, of course, a disingenuous statement. To circumvent censorship, and perhaps also ironically comment on its restraints, Nashe included a beast fable in *Pierce Penilesse* that is modelled on Edmund Spenser’s controversial poem *Prosopopoia, or*

¹⁴⁷ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.B4^v.

¹⁴⁸ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.B4^v.

¹⁴⁹ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.D2^r.

¹⁵⁰ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.I3^v.

¹⁵¹ Kitch, pp.76.

¹⁵² Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.G^r.

Mother Hubbard's Tale (likely written between 1578-1579, with a revised version published in 1591). Spenser's poem was arguably suppressed shortly after its publication in 1591 due to its satirical representation of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, as the cunning Fox and his son Robert as the Ape who together steal the Lion's crown, sceptre and skin.¹⁵³ In his own beast fable, Nashe represents the late Earl of Leicester, who died four years before the text was published, as 'The Beare on a time beeing chiefe Burgomaster of all the Beasts vnder the Lyon'.¹⁵⁴ While the fable seems to solely reflect on Leicester's alleged corruption, he is said to collaborate with the scheming Fox and the Chameleon, who represent William and Robert Cecil respectively.¹⁵⁵ As occurs in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, the Fox disguises himself 'like a shepherds dogge', again recalling the figuration of the guardians of the state as sheepdogs that prey on the flock they are meant to protect. The 'Camelion that could put on all shapes', sometimes appearing 'like an Ape to make sport, and then like a Crocodile to weep, sometime like a Serpent to sting, and by and by like a Spaniell to fawne', is said to use these 'sundrie formes' to 'perswade the world he ment as he spake, and onely intended their good, when he thought nothing lesse'.¹⁵⁶ In her analysis of Spenser's beast fable, Abigail Shinn argues that *Mother Hubbard's Tale* is 'a critique of the role of counsel in Elizabethan politics, exploring the ambiguous motivations behind proffering advice to rulers and the punishment meted out to those who did so without appropriate caution'.¹⁵⁷ Shinn suggests that Spenser utilises the beast fable in this context because '[t]he beast who can speak [...] unravels the layers of dissimulation and flattery which make up the art of counsel'.¹⁵⁸ Nashe arguably recognised this aspect of Spenser's poem and

¹⁵³ For further discussion of Lord Burghley's representation as the Fox and Robert Cecil as the Ape in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, see Bruce Danner, *Edmund Spenser's War on Lord Burghley* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.151-185; Brice Harris, 'The Ape in *Mother Hubberds Tale*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 13 (1941), 191-203; Richard Peterson, 'Laurel Crown and Ape's Tail: New Light on Spenser's Career from Sir Thomas Tresham', *Spenser Studies*, 12 (1998), 1-35; Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.265-271.

¹⁵⁴ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.G3^r.

¹⁵⁵ For further discussion, see Donald J. McGinn, 'The Allegory of the "Beare" and the "Foxe" in Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*', *PMLA*, 61 (1946), 431-453.

¹⁵⁶ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.G4^r, G4^v, G4^v.

¹⁵⁷ Abigail Shinn, 'Edmund Spenser and the Popular Press' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2009), p.105.

¹⁵⁸ Shinn, p.105.

parodied it to also satirise the Cecils and suggest they do not serve for the Queen's benefit but to advance their own interests.

The similarities between Nashe's beast fable and Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* support Anthony G. Petti's argument that *Pierce Penilesse* attacked the Cecils and that Lord Burghley is "The Diuill" to whom the supplication is to be delivered'.¹⁵⁹ The English Catholic exile, Robert Verstegan (who gathered intelligence about England while in Antwerp), noted the parallels between Spenser and Nashe's beast allegories in a letter written to Robert Persons dated 1 April 1593, in which he claims that the pamphlets written against Burghley are, 'greedely desired of the courtiers and others, and any thing written against him is easely believed. In a late pamphlet entytuled *A Supplication to the Divill* he is girded at, thoughte not so much as in *Mother Hubberde's Tale*.'¹⁶⁰ Nashe alludes to the controversy surrounding his beast fable in *Strange Newes* and denies that 'The tale of the Beare and the Foxe', was an 'allusion to any man set aboue mee in degree, but onely glanc'st at vice generallie'.¹⁶¹ However, he goes on to claim that his 'concealed ende' was, 'to describe the right nature of a bloudthirsty tyrant [...]: Let it be *Martin* if you will, or some old dog that bites sorer than hee'.¹⁶² Petti argues that Nashe indicates here that the beast fable attacked Burghley, who was occasionally characterised as a dog, rather than the anonymous Martin Marprelate pamphleteer.¹⁶³ In support of this argument, Nashe himself draws parallels between his and Spenser's beast fables, claiming, 'If this [...] be to tell tales as shrewdly as mother *Hubbard*, it shoulde seeme mother *Hubbard* is no great shrewe', which implies his beast fable attacked the same individual as Spenser's poem.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Anthony G. Petti, 'Political Satire in *Pierce Penilesse his syplication to the diuill*', *Neophilologus*, 45 (1961), 139-150 (p.142). In support of this argument, Petti suggests that Nashe wrote the pamphlet either for the Earl of Essex or the Lord Hunsdon, whose son George Carey, daughter-in-law and granddaughter were all known patrons of Nashe and who were opposed to Burghley (p.141).

¹⁶⁰ Cited by Petti, p.141.

¹⁶¹ Thomas Nashe, *The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse. Or, Strange Newes, of the Intercepting Certaine Letters and a Conuoy of Verses, as they were Going Priuillie to Victuall the Lowe Countries* (London, 1592), sig.K3^v.

¹⁶² Nashe, *Strange News*, sig.K3^v.

¹⁶³ Petti, p.147. In support of this argument, Petti cites a letter from Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Essex, dated 30 December 1597, in which refers to Burghley as 'the toothless dog, that will bark to death': London, British Library, MSS Harleian 286, fol.268^r.

¹⁶⁴ Nashe, *Strange News*, sig.K3^v.

Furthermore, Nashe specifically cites the suppression of *Mother Hubbard's Tale* as evidence that authors have 'no liberty without bounds, no licence without limitation', which suggests that he included his beast fable in revolt against the suppression of Spenser's text.¹⁶⁵ This context provides further weight to the likelihood that *The Isle of Dogs* used animal imagery to critique the restraints of censorship.

In further support of the argument that *The Isle of Dogs* was concerned with the suppression of politically subversive texts, Nashe uses dog imagery in *Pierce Penilesse* to criticise censorship:

For who can abide a scurvie pedling Poet to plucke a man by the sleeue at euerie third step in *Paules* Churchyard, & when he comes in to seruey his wares, theres nothing but purgations and vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper. It were verie good the dog whipper in *Paules* would haue a care of this in his vnsauery visitation euerie Saterday: for it is dangerous for suche of the Queenes liedge people, as shall take a viewe of them fasting.¹⁶⁶

The image of vomit wrapped in paper appears to suggest that the texts sold in St Paul's Churchyard lack substance. This image also notably invokes the proverb, 'As a dog turneth againe to his owne vomit, so a foole turneth to his foolishnes' (Proverbs 26.11).¹⁶⁷ To further the implied analogy between authors and dogs that this proverb invokes, Nashe calls on the Cathedral's 'dog whipper' — who was employed to drive out canines that caused a nuisance during services — to punish the authors of such texts.¹⁶⁸ By referring to the officials that censored publications sold in Paul's Churchyard as dog whippers, Nashe seems to advocate for authors being punished like dogs. However, his claim that their works are 'dangerous for suche of the Queenes liedge people', indicates that he is criticising the suppression of texts that offended Elizabeth I and her inner circle, rather than the authors who wrote them.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, in

¹⁶⁵ Nashe, *Strange News*, sig.E^r.

¹⁶⁶ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.I2^v.

¹⁶⁷ For more on Nashe's connections with St Paul's Cathedral, see Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, pp.39-61.

¹⁶⁸ See John Craig, 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547-1642', in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.104-123. An image of a Cathedral dog-whipper in action was captured in the central panel of the 'Old St Paul's Diptych': John Gipkyn, *Dr King Preaching at Old St Paul's before James I*, 1616, oil on panel, 110.4 x 87.6 cm, Society of Antiquaries of London, London.

¹⁶⁹ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.I2^v.

Strange Newes (1592), Nashe identifies himself as a dog-like author that vomits up texts. This pamphlet was largely written in response to Gabriel Harvey's *Foure Letters, and Certain Sonnets* (1592), in which Harvey urges Nashe to end their quarrel, claiming that he would 'bestow more complements of rare amplifications' on Nashe if he would 'employ [his] golden talent' and 'with heroicall Cantoës honour right Vertue, & braue valour'.¹⁷⁰ Nashe rejects this 'bribe', stating 'a dogge will be a dogge, & returne to his vomit doe what a man can, thou must haue one squibbe more at the Deuils Orator, & his Dames Poet, or thy penne is not in cleane life.'¹⁷¹ Nashe identifies himself as a dog and suggests that while his vomiting-up of satirical texts may be considered foolish, he will nonetheless continue to expose societal vices.

Nashe's employment of the canine trope in *Strange Newes* is likely in retort to Harvey's use of canine imagery in *Foure Letters* to criticise Robert Greene's snarling reproofs. For example, in *Sonnet I*, Harvey writes: 'dead is the Dog of spite: / I, that for pitie praised him alieue, / And smil'd to heare him gnar, and see him bite'.¹⁷² Furthermore, in *Sonnet VII*, Harvey states: 'I seldome call a snarling Curr, a Curr: / But wish the gnarring dog, as sweete a mouth, / As brauest horse, that feeleth golden spurr'.¹⁷³ Harvey uses dog imagery here to urge writers, and perhaps Nashe specifically, to emulate the obedient horse that responds to the 'golden spurrs' of its rider, rather than the currish Robert Greene. The 'bravest horse' with a sweet mouth', alludes to those writers who comply to the wishes of their patrons in return for financial remuneration, represented by the 'golden spurr'. As we saw in the first chapter of this thesis, it was generally preferable to be compared to the noble horse rather than the sycophantic dog. However, Nashe rejects Harvey's proposal and reverses the negative implications of his analogy by willingly embracing his characterisation as a dog that refuses to sweeten his words for financial reward.

¹⁷⁰ Gabriel Harvey, *Foure Letters, and Certaine Sonnets Especially Touching Robert Greene, and other Parties, by him Abused* (London, 1592), sig.F4^v.

¹⁷¹ Nashe, *Strange Newes*, sig.L2^r.

¹⁷² Harvey, *Foure Letters*, sig.H3^r.

¹⁷³ Harvey, *Foure Letters*, sig.F^r.

Despite his refusal to flatter patrons for employment, Nashe acknowledged the need to expose societal vices in a more palatable manner than ‘vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper.’ To achieve this, Nashe may have sought to adapt his satirical attacks for the stage, possibly both through *Summer’s Last Will and Testament* and *The Isle of Dogs*. This decision is alluded to in *Strange Newes* when, in support of his claim that poets are ‘necessary to the state’, Nashe includes a ‘defence of Playes’, asserting ‘they are sower pils of reprehension wrapt vp in sweete words.’¹⁷⁴ Nashe evidently viewed plays as an effective means of delivering necessary criticism, especially for the ruling elite. For example, Nashe notes that ‘In the Romaine common-wealths it was lawful for Poets to reprove that enormitie in the highest chairs of authoritie, which none else durst touch’.¹⁷⁵ While he views poets as having a certain license to criticise the ruling elite, Nashe nevertheless observes:

Fawning and croutching are the naturall gestures of feare, and if it bee a vertue for a vassaile to licke a mans shooes with his tongue, sure it is but borrowed from the dogges, and so is biting too, if it bee accompanied with ouer lowd barking, or in such wise as it cannot pinch but it must breake the flesh and drawe blood.¹⁷⁶

Individuals who fawn like dogs upon those in positions of power are seen to be acting out of fear. However, those who vocalise their criticisms in a harsh manner, comparable to the vicious biting and loud barking of a dog, are no better than sycophants because they cause harm. Nashe recommends a middle ground, comparing the ‘vnsvgared pilles’ of Horace, Perseus and Juvenal with Aristophanes’s comedies, which ‘interfusest delight with reprehension.’¹⁷⁷ Notably, James H. Forse suggests that, in writing *The Isle of Dogs*, Nashe and Jonson were inspired by Aristophanes’s satirical comedies, namely *Birds*, *Frogs*, and *Wasps*, all of which used animals to parody Athenian politics. Given the proximity of Nashe’s praise of Aristophanes to his use of

¹⁷⁴ Nashe, *Strange Newes*, sig.D3^v, F3^r, F3^v.

¹⁷⁵ Nashe, *Strange Newes*, sig.E3^v.

¹⁷⁶ Nashe, *Strange Newes*, sig. E2^v-E3^r.

¹⁷⁷ Nashe, *Strange Newes*, sig. E3^r.

dog imagery to criticise fawning flatterers and biting satirists, it is likely that *The Isle of Dogs* was inspired by the satirical and highly comedic dog trial from Aristophanes's *Wasps*.¹⁷⁸

Kenneth J. Reckford argues that Aristophanes used the dog-trial in *Wasps* as a political satire on the Athenian demagogue Cleon and his use of the law courts to enforce his power through its portrayal of an actual case involving Cleon and Laches, an Athenian aristocrat and general during the Peloponnesian War who Cleon accused of embezzling funds.¹⁷⁹ Aristophanes satirises Cleon's abuse of power through the story of an old juror Philocleon ('Cleon-lover'), who is addicted to judging cases, and the attempt of his son Bdelycleon ('Cleon-hater'), to reform his father by turning Philocleon's home into a courtroom and offering to pay him to judge domestic disputes. The first case involves a dispute between two household dogs: Kyon (representing Cleon) accuses Labes (representing Laches) of stealing a Sicilian cheese and not giving Kyon a share as was expected. In his first appearance on stage, Kyon barks but then proceeds to provide an eloquent case for the prosecution which convinces Philocleon that Labes is guilty. Kyon's speech indicates that he was played by a human actor but arguably exhibited canine characteristics, such as barking.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, Labes is mute, which indicates he was represented by an actual dog on stage to convey the dehumanisation and silencing of Cleon's enemies. Bdelycleon consequently delivers Labes's defence, arguing that he should be acquitted because he is a good guard dog who, unlike Kyon, 'slaves away tirelessly' and protects the sheep from wolves.¹⁸¹ Despite his best efforts, Bdelycleon has to trick his father into acquitting Labes by taking him to the wrong urn when its time to cast his vote.

¹⁷⁸ Aristophanes, 'Wasps', in *Frogs and Other Plays*, trans. by David Barret, revised translation and introduction by Shomit Dutta (London: Penguin Classics, 2007), pp.9-67.

¹⁷⁹ Kenneth J. Reckford, *Aristophanes's Old-and-New Comedy: Six Essays in Perspective* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp.253.

¹⁸⁰ This aspect of Kyon's performance is comparable to the role played by Dog in Thomas Dekker, John Ford and William Rowley's play *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621). For further discussion, see Meg Pearson, 'A Dog, a Witch, a Play: *The Witch of Edmonton*', *Early Theatre*, 11 (2008), 89-111.

¹⁸¹ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1.2.970.

Sarah Miles analyses *Wasps* from an animal studies perspective and suggests that the various creatures presented on stage and the fantastical nature of the dog-trial, ‘provide a shield behind which Aristophanes can hide, as he takes his most direct attack on the stage-figure of Cleon/Kyon.’¹⁸² It is plausible that Jonson and Nashe were inspired by Aristophanes’s use of animals to, as Miles suggests, ‘highlight, distort and caricature social and political traits in human nature’.¹⁸³ In connection to this, Miles notes that animals are used in *Wasps* to expose the ‘beast within’ the human characters, specifically ‘that Cleon *actually* is no more than a low-down dog serving the table of his master (i.e. the Athenian people); and [...] that Cleon is swindling that master in the process’.¹⁸⁴ Aristophanes plays upon this doubling of the dog, thus identifying the animal as a suitable model for those who were meant to serve the people but who instead exploit them for their own benefit. Nashe and Jonson likely used dogs in the same way to satirise the canine characteristics of Elizabeth’s counsellors and to highlight the responsibility of writers, such as Aristophanes, in criticising abuses of power.

Nashe took up the mantle of the biting playwright in *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*, which is believed to have been first performed in September or October 1592 at the Croydon residence of John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a privy councillor and favoured courtier of Elizabeth I.¹⁸⁵ The play represents the impending death of Summer and his need to choose a suitable heir to succeed him. The parallels to the childless Elizabeth, and its bearing on the succession crisis, are obvious. As this topic was forbidden at the time, the play undermines Ingram’s argument that *The Isle of Dogs* was probably not a particularly scandalous political satire as Nashe was a shrewd author who ‘understood the need for decorum and the limits of

¹⁸² Sarah Miles, ‘Cultured Animals and Wild Humans? Talking with the Animals in Aristophanes’ *Wasps*’, in *Interactions between Animals and Humans in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. by Thorsten Fögen and Edmund Thomas (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp.205-232 (p.222).

¹⁸³ Miles, p.208.

¹⁸⁴ Miles, p.225.

¹⁸⁵ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan, 1592-1623* (London: Methuen, 2011), p.45.

scurrility'.¹⁸⁶ *Summer's Last Will* can therefore be regarded as a precursor to Nashe and Jonson's 'seditious and lewd' play.

Summer's Last Will features a lengthy speech from Orion the hunter on the virtues of dogs, which arguably juxtaposes the service provided by courtiers with that provided by writers. This speech is notably followed by a discussion by the ghost of Will Sommers (Henry VIII's resurrected fool who provides a running commentary on the play's action), on the restraints of patronage. When Vertumnus (the god of seasons and servant to Summer), calls in Orion, he addresses him as 'gentleman, dogge-keeper, huntsman' and requests that he 'bring all hounds, and no bandogges'.¹⁸⁷ Orion promptly enters 'like a hunter, with a horne about his necke, all his men after the same sort hallowing, and blowing their hornes.'¹⁸⁸ In the 2017 production of *Summer's Last Will and Testament* by Edward's Boys, Orion entered accompanied by a large retinue of actors like dogs, creating a sense of chaos and disorder.¹⁸⁹ The tumult of howling and barking justified Autumne's impassioned condemnation of dogs in which he describes them as 'venome-breathed cures', 'foule-mouthed mangy dogs', and highlights their connection with plague and illness during the 'Dog-daies' of summer, thus identifying them as 'deathes messengers' and 'nought els but preseru'd corruption'.¹⁹⁰ Autumne's attack on dogs is especially notable as it is directed against hunting hounds which were usually given preferential treatment over common curs. The references to illness and corruption during the 'Dog-daies' of summer may be a topical reference to the play's original performance at Whitgift's residence in Croydon in 1592 during the plague endemic. As we have seen, during periods of plague, dogs were persecuted due to the belief that they spread illness, however, the acts ordering their massacre exempted gentlemen's hounds and lapdogs. Autumne's tirade consequently undermines the traditional hierarchy perceived to exist among dogs and, by extension, that of

¹⁸⁶ Ingram, p.179.

¹⁸⁷ Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, Called Summers Last Will and Testament* (London, 1600), sig.D3^v.

¹⁸⁸ Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.D3^v.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, dir. Perry Mills (London: The Old Palace School, 30 September 2017).

¹⁹⁰ Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.D4^r.

nobles, who are portrayed as being as guilty of ‘corruption’ as the hunting hounds they covet. In this context, Vertumnus’s request for Orion to ‘bring all hounds, and no bandogges’, perhaps suggests that, despite their corruptive influence, rulers choose the sycophantic fawning of hound-like courtiers over the honesty of satirical writers, who ‘admonish’ the ruling elite for their vices in a manner comparable to the unrelenting barking of ban-dogs.¹⁹¹

That this scene is not solely concerned with the attributes of actual dogs is made clear in Orion’s response to Autumne’s invective against canines. Orion begins his ‘defence’ by claiming, ‘The creature’s best that comes most neere to men. / That dogs of all come neerest’, thus blurring the boundary that separates canines from humans.¹⁹² Orion proceeds to recite the usual praise of the unwavering loyalty of dogs and the services they provide, claiming:

Cinicks they are, for they will snarle and bite,
Right courtiers to flatter and to fawne,
Valiant to set vpon the enemies,
Most faithfull and most constant to their friends.¹⁹³

Orion identifies here the three types of counsellors that were often compared to dogs (as is also found in *Damon and Pithias*) — the snarling Cynic, the fawning courtier, and the loyal servant. Orion’s assertion that dogs are loyal to their friends and will defend them from their enemies is arguably reflective of patronised authors, such as Nashe, who had been hired by Whitgift to attack the anonymous Martin Marprelate pamphleteer and presumably also to write pleasing texts, such as *Summer’s Last Will*, to entertain the Archbishop’s guests during festivities.¹⁹⁴ By placing these canine counsellors in direct juxtaposition with one another, Nashe perhaps

¹⁹¹ Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.D3^v.

¹⁹² Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.D4^r-D4^v. Duncan-Jones suggests that *Summer’s Last Will* was co-authored with Robert Greene and that Orion’s praise of dogs may be part of his contribution to the play due to the inclusion of a prose version in Samuel Rowlands’s *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catching* (1602), which reads: ‘for they fawne vpon their familiar friends and acquaintance; they defend those from danger that haue deserued well of them, and reuenge them of strangers, and such as either haue, or go about to do them iniurie.’ See Samuel Rowlands, *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catching* (London, 1602), sig.D4^r. For further discussion of the connections between this text and *Summer’s Last Will*, see Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, pp.47-48.

¹⁹³ Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.E^r.

¹⁹⁴ Kitch, p.76.

suggests that the patronised author must learn how to emulate the bark of the Cynic and the fawning sycophancy of the courtier.

As *Summer's Last Will* was not printed until 1600, it was possibly revised for publication. The extant text we have of this play may therefore include references to *The Isle of Dogs* affair and the Bishop's Ban of 1599. This order, which was signed by Whitgift and Richard Bancroft, the Bishop of London, specifically ordered the censorship of all works by Nashe and Harvey, in addition to all satires, epigrams, histories and plays without the Privy Council's approval.¹⁹⁵ Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests that the printed text of *Summer's Last Will* was 'somewhat revised, by Nashe himself', and that the lack of preliminary material for which Nashe was known indicates that he 'died, or at least became terminally ill, while it was at press'.¹⁹⁶ Nashe may therefore have adapted the scene featuring Orion's speech on hunting hounds in response to *The Isle of Dogs* scandal and the Bishop's Ban, in order to reflect on the restrictions imposed upon satirists and players. However, based on Nashe's use of canine imagery in *Pierce Penilesse* and *Strange News*, this play arguably provides a further example of the connections Nashe drew between dogs, writers and players before *The Isle of Dogs*.

Directly after Orion's exit, Will Sommers reflects on the constraints of patronage and censorship:

Faith, this Sceane of Orion, is right *prandium caninum*, a dogs dinner, which as it is without wine, so here's a coyle about dogges, without wit. If I had thought the ship of fooles would haue stayde to take in fresh water at the Ile of dogges, I would haue furnisht it with a whole kennell of collections to the purpose. I haue had a dogge my selfe, that would dreame, and talke in his sleepe, turne round like Ned foole, and sleepe all night in a porridge pot. Marke but the skirmish betweene sixpence and the foxe, and it is miraculous, how they ouercome one another in honorable curtesy. The foxe, though he weares a chayne, runnes as though hee were free, mocking vs (as it is a crafty beast) because we hauing a Lord and master to attend on, runne about at our pleasures, like masterles men.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Richard A. McCabe, 'Elizabethan Satire and the Bishop's Ban of 1599', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 11 (1981), 188-194.

¹⁹⁶ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, p.47.

¹⁹⁷ Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, sig.E2^r.

Alluding to the allegory of the ship of fools, which originated in Book VI of Plato's *Republic*, Sommers connects the scene to the locale of the Isle of Dogs. If the text was revised, this may refer to the suppressed play of the same name or provide evidence that Nashe was interested in the cultural significance of this locale in relation to writers and entertainers. Most notably, Sommers compares court jesters to canines when he observes, 'I haue had a dogge my selfe, that would dreame, and talke in his sleepe, turne round like Ned foole'.¹⁹⁸ This refers to Whitgift's household jester from whom Sommers borrows his fool's apparel and props at the beginning of the play, most notably a 'Chayne'.¹⁹⁹ The comparison of 'Ned foole' to a dog recalls the account in Armin's *Foole vpon Foole* (1600) of Sommers lying down with Henry VIII's spaniels after jesting with the King. Furthermore, Sommers arguably alludes in this passage to a trick involving a 'sixpence', which the clown Richard Tarlton performed with his dog.²⁰⁰ Hillman has also noted the 'assimilation of fools to dogs' in this passage and suggests that it is 'more than causal'.²⁰¹ To further Hillman's assessment, Nashe draws on the links between licensed court jesters and dogs to reflect on the desire of players to expose the vices of the ruling elite without punishment.

However, this speech also appropriates Aesop's fable of the wolf and the dog to suggest that players can never be completely free. According to this fable, the wolf envies the dog, who appears to be free, for being well-fed. However, when the wolf sees that the dog is missing a patch of hair on his neck from the collar that is used to keep him chained at night, the wolf declares he would rather starve and be free than well-fed and a slave. In his appropriation of this fable, Nashe substitutes the fox for the wolf and the dog's place is taken by 'us', arguably referring to players collectively. Nashe also deliberately confuses the moral of the fable as it is

¹⁹⁸ Nashe, *Sommers Last Will*, sig.E2^r.

¹⁹⁹ Nashe, *Summer's Last Will*, sig.B^r.

²⁰⁰ Nashe, *Sommers Last Will*, sig.E2^r. See Tarlton, *Tarltons Jests*, sig.E3^r-E3^v. Karen Kettlich notes the connections between Will Sommers and Tarlton in *Summer's Last Will* and argues that 'the clown at time seems to telescope three characters, Tarlton, Nashe, and the clown': Karen Kettlich, 'Nashe's Extemporal Vein and his Tarltonizing Wit', in *The Age of Thomas Nashe: Texts, Bodies and Trespasses of Authorship in Early Modern England*, ed. by Stephen Guy-Bray, Joan Pong Linton and Steve Mentz (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.99-114 (p.110).

²⁰¹ Hillman, p.509.

the fox, not the dog, that wears ‘a chayne’ but who nonetheless mocks the dog, ‘as though hee were free’. Richard Hillman, acknowledging that *Summer’s Last Will* may have been revised for publication in 1600 following the Bishop’s Ban, argues that this passage ‘sounds like a defence of the players’ privileges against the obtrusive censor.’²⁰² More specifically, Sherri Geller suggests that, ‘the play proper and the commentary analogically censure illiberal patrons, and on a more personal level, the unsatisfactory support Nashe received from the patronage system — including, it seems, from Whitgift.’²⁰³ Indeed, through this speech, Nashe concedes that while players (represented by the dog) may appear free, they only had a certain license to criticise their superiors, as if they went too far they would risk becoming ‘masterles men’. In line with this reading, Nashe appropriates Aesop’s fable to suggest that players should accept the ‘chayne[s]’ of patronage to gain at least the semblance of freedom. In addition, the fox’s ‘chayne’, possibly alludes to the chains of office worn by the monarch’s chief ministers; Nashe subverts the authority conveyed by these livery collars to suggest that royal counsellors are as constrained by their master as dog-like authors are by their patrons and censorship regulations. *Summer’s Last Will* therefore uses the canine trope not only to represent courtiers as a corruptive force but also to reflect on the restraints of censorship and patronage, which were likely also the main targets in *The Isle of Dogs*.²⁰⁴

Ironically, Nashe’s involvement in *The Isle of Dogs* seems to have cost him the patronage of prominent nobles. Lichfield seemingly indicates this in *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, when he states, ‘Since that thy Ile of Dogs hath made thee thus miserable, I cannot but account thee a Dog, and chyd and rate thee as a Dog that hath done a fault.’²⁰⁵ This text also implies that Nashe had been incarcerated, largely through the inclusion of the only known contemporary

²⁰² Hillman, p.509.

²⁰³ Sherri Geller, ‘Commentary as Cover-Up: Criticizing Illiberal Patronage in Thomas Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 25 (1995), 148-178 (p.149).

²⁰⁴ This passage may also target Burghley, who was frequently referred to as the ‘fox’ during Elizabeth’s reign. If this passage was added after 1600, Nashe could be referring to Burghley’s son and successor, Robert Cecil. For further discussions see Pauline Croft, ‘The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1991), 43-69 (p.57).

²⁰⁵ Lichfield, sig.F2r.

portrait of Nashe in which he is portrayed in fetters.²⁰⁶ Lichfield therefore mockingly advises

Nashe:

now thou hast a c[l]og at thy heele as the prouerbe is, thou must learne of *Aesops* dog to do as he did: that is, thou must crinch vp thy selfe round in thy couch all winter time and dreame of a goodly large chamber, faire lodgings and soft beds, and in the Summer time thou must stretch out thy selfe, lye all abroad snoring vpon thy couch, and thinke that silly lodging [...] a stately chamber built of free stone, layd out with stately bay windowes for to take the ayre at.²⁰⁷

The reference to '*Aesops* dog', alludes to the fable of 'The Dog and its Reflection', in which a dog is said to be carrying a stolen bone (or sometimes a cheese), but when crossing a river sees his reflection and believing it is another dog carrying a better bone, attempts to steal it and in so doing loses what he was carrying. This fable appears in Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* as a warning to those who fortune 'allottes a meane estate', that 'vainlie clime but likelie still to fall / And live at lengthe, with losese of maine, and all', such as those who 'with emptie purse come to courte'.²⁰⁸ Lichfield may simultaneously refer here to the fable of the dog and wolf, which is invoked in *Summer's Last Will*, to suggest that Nashe should have accepted the constraints of patronage, as by attempting to transcend his allotted place he has been thrust out of the noble houses with which he was associated and now suffers under the chains of poverty.

Nevertheless, Lichfield acknowledges that Nashe has not been completely tamed and aligns him with the masterless canines that were perceived to disrupt the social order in early modern England.²⁰⁹ Lichfield states that like the dogs which 'alwaies run with their mouthes open and their tongues hanging out [...] your mouth is neuer shut, your tongue neuer tyed'.²¹⁰ Although intended as an insult, Lichfield recognises that Nashe will not be easily silenced. He also acknowledges that Nashe will continue to write biting satires by citing the proverb, '*canis ad vomitum*', a dog always returns to its vomit, which Nashe himself used in *Strange News* to

²⁰⁶ Lichfield, sig.E2^r.

²⁰⁷ Lichfield, sig.E2^v.

²⁰⁸ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), sig.E4^r.

²⁰⁹ Lichfield, sig.F2^r.

²¹⁰ Lichfield, sig.F3^v.

defend his work.²¹¹ Indeed, in *Lenten Stuffle*, Nashe suggests that he will respond to Lichfield, informing his readers to, ‘stay till Ester Terme, and then, with the answere to the *Trim Tram*, I will make you laugh your hearts out’.²¹² It does not appear that Nashe did respond to Lichfield, perhaps because he died before he had the chance to write his reply. However, Nashe’s co-author, Ben Jonson directly answered Lichfield through *Every Man Out of His Humour*, a comical satire that presents a greyhound on stage and which repeatedly identifies its satirist figures as dogs.

4.3 The Significance of Puntarvolo’s Greyhound in *Every Man Out of His Humour*

One of the central characters of *Every Man Out of His Humour* is Sir Puntarvolo and following closely at his heels, as an external symbol of his failed chivalric persona, is his beloved greyhound, who is not used as a hunting hound but is instead pampered like a lapdog.²¹³ The greyhound is the first victim of the play when, at the height of his envious humour, the cynical Macilente poisons the animal. It is striking that Ben Jonson’s inclusion of a greyhound in *Every Man Out*, only two years after *The Isle of Dogs* scandal, has received relatively little critical attention.²¹⁴ The play’s most recent editor, Helen Ostovich argues that ‘the frequency of dog-jokes [...] suggests an oblique tie-in with *The Isle of Dogs*’, but does not develop this argument further.²¹⁵ John Peachman offers a more considered discussion of Jonson’s inclusion of a greyhound and its connection to *The Isle of Dogs*; however his primary argument is that Shakespeare wrote *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* partly as a satire on Nashe and his

²¹¹ Lichfield, sig.G^v.

²¹² Nashe, *Lenten Stuffle*, sig.A4^r.

²¹³ Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). All subsequent references to this play will be supplied in parentheses.

²¹⁴ There has been some consideration of the greyhound’s significance in the play more generally. For example, Michael Dobson compares Jonson’s use of a dog on stage with Shakespeare’s Crab in *Two Gentlemen* and, in addition to suggesting that there is no other connection between the two dogs other than their comedic roles, argues that the ‘greyhound remains strictly an accessory, a mute externalization of Puntarvolo’s folly’: Michael Dobson, ‘A Dog at All Things’, *Performance Research*, 5 (2000), 116-124 (p.117). Comparably, Richard Beadle states that Puntarvolo’s greyhound, which he describes as ‘Crab’s closest relative on the contemporary stage’, ‘is given considerable prominence as the principle objectification of the quixotic Puntarvolo’s fantastic humour’: Beadle, pp.24.

²¹⁵ Ostovich, p.29

involvement in *The Isle of Dogs*, in order to offer a later date for the composition of Shakespeare's play.²¹⁶ He suggests that Jonson in turn included a greyhound in *Every Man Out* as 'a direct satirical response to Shakespeare's original satire.'²¹⁷ This section provides a fuller exploration of Peachman's secondary focus on *Every Man Out* to suggest that the poisoning of the noble greyhound on stage was in reaction to the suppression and criticism of *The Isle of Dogs*. In addition, it argues that Jonson re-appropriates the canine epithets aimed at playwrights and players to defend their role as biting moral instructors and to also highlight the social importance of comic satire in exposing and correcting societal vices. Jonson explores the role of the satirist through the author figure Asper, the cynical Macilente and the jester Carlo Buffone, all of whom are repeatedly characterised as canines. These dog-like characters are directly juxtaposed with Puntarvolo's greyhound to criticise those who use flattery to secure employment rather than providing moral instruction through their works. However, like Shakespeare, Jonson also uses the canine trope to reflect on his need to flatter patrons and audience members to maintain employment.

Ineke Murakami has explored the prominence of the canine trope in Jonson's works more generally to suggest it conveys his ambivalence towards his role as a playwright and the audience for whom he writes.²¹⁸ Murakami's argument aligns with Skura's observations on the application of the canine trope in early modern drama more generally. Like Skura, Murakami argues that in Jonson's plays, 'the canine articulates [...] fear of the judicative audience and the desire to savage them, all of which suggest that the dog embodies the paradoxical conditions of writing for the public theater in this period.'²¹⁹ This figuration casts both the audience and playwright as vicious dogs that want to 'savage' one another. However, Murakami acknowledges that as Jonson also needs to flatter his audience for continued employment, 'the

²¹⁶ Peachman, 'Why a Dog?', 265-272.

²¹⁷ Peachman, 'Why a Dog?', p.272.

²¹⁸ Ineke Murakami, *Moral Play and Counterpublic: Transformations in Moral Drama, 1465-1599* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.127-154.

²¹⁹ Murakami, p.152.

trope of canine aggression, emerges ultimately as a way for Jonson to maintain his ambivalent relation to the market conditions he depends upon'.²²⁰ This ambivalence is why Jonson repeatedly characterises his satirist figures as dogs and also why he portrays the transformation of a greyhound, a breed that was highly valued for its prowess in the hunt, into a useless lapdog, thus transforming it from a dog that should attack its prey into a frivolous commodity. In so doing, Jonson uses the canine trope to express his anger that the commercialisation of plays prevents them from truly fulfilling a didactic purpose, as was the likely intention of Nashe and Jonson's *The Isle of Dogs*.

Peachman suggests that at the time Jonson wrote *Every Man Out, The Isle of Dogs* 'affair had not faded from public awareness [...]; Meres was still referring to it in late 1598, and the publication of Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* in 1599 would have reawakened interest.'²²¹ Indeed, Jonson arguably alludes to *Lenten Stuff* in his description of Cordatus (who forms one half of the play's Chorus), as the 'author's friend; a man only acquainted with the scope and drift of his plot; of a discreet and understanding judgement; and has the place of a moderator' (Characters 106-108). Ostovich notes that this description echoes Nashe's commentary on *The Isle of Dogs* in *Lenten Stuff*, in which he claims, 'I having begun but the induction and the first act of it, the other four acts without my consent, or the least guest of my drift, or scope, by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine too.'²²² By citing *Lenten Stuffe*, Jonson possibly supports Nashe's claim that he was only aware of the 'scope and drift of' *The Isle of Dog's* plot and that his co-author was the voice of reason in its production, just as Cordatus frequently warns Asper about the dangers of *Every Man Out's* satirical content. Alternatively, Jonson may cite *Lenten Stuffe* to indicate that *Every Man Out* is a response to critics, such as Lichfield, and the extreme reaction provoked by *The Isle of Dogs*.

²²⁰ Murakami, p.147.

²²¹ Peachman, 'Why a Dog?', p.272.

²²² Ostovich, n.106-7, p.110. See Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, sig.B^v.

In *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, Lichfield called for Nashe to be punished for his part in the ‘Isle of dogges’ by having his ears cropped, claiming that this is ‘an auncient custome in our Countrie when wee take a dogge that hath done a fault’.²²³ The greyhound in *Every Man Out* suffers a more extreme punishment when he is poisoned by Macilente. Teresa Grant suggests that the poisoning of the greyhound alludes to an account from Plutarch’s *Moralia* of a player dog feigning death.²²⁴ However, it is more likely that Jonson is directly referring to Lichfield’s reproduction of this story:

Lastly, to come neerer to your selfe, you shall heare of a dogge that was an excellent Actor. In Rome there was a Stage-player, which set out a Historie of diuers personages, among whom there was a dogge to be poisoned and reuiue againe; a Part of no lesse difficultie than the king or the clowne, and was as well perfourmed: for (at his time) he eate the poyson, and presently (drunkard-like) stackered vp and downe, reeling backward and forward, bending his head to the ground, as if it were too heauie for his bodie, as his Part was; and at last fell downe, stretcht himselfe vpon the stage, and lay for dead. Soone after, when his Cue was spoken, first by little and little he began to mooue himselfe, and then stretching forth his legs, as though he awaked from a deepesleepe, and lifting vp his head, lookt about him: then he arose, and came to him to whom his part was he should come: which thing (besides the great pleasure) mooued wonderfull admiration in olde Vespasian the Emperour there present, and in ail the other that were spectators.²²⁵

As Lichfield prefaces this account by stating it is ‘neerer’ to Nashe, he therefore connects the poisoning of dogs to the punishment of players. In relation to this, Peachman suggests that the poisoning of Puntarvolo’s greyhound ‘seems very much like an ironic reversal of Lichfield’s resurrected actor dog. [...] There is no miraculous recovery from poison for this actor dog, he’s stone dead. It may be Jonson’s way of laying the *Isle of Dogs* affair, and all satire on it, to rest.’²²⁶ What Peachman fails to recognise here is that as Puntarvolo’s greyhound is ultimately a player dog, he does not actually die. In addition, the player dog is not required to perform an elaborate death scene on stage as, after Macilente administers the poison, the stage directions in the various quartos indicate that he ‘kicks’ the dog off the stage to die (V.ii.88sd). Like Nashe,

²²³ Lichfield, sig.F4^r.

²²⁴ Grant, pp.104-105. Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals Written by the Learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1603), sig.Mmmm4^r.

²²⁵ Lichfield, sig.F3^r.

²²⁶ Peachman, ‘Why a Dog?’, p.272.

Jonson had no intention of letting Lichfield have the last word. Moreover, when the dog is discovered dead, Carlo suggests it can be resurrected or taxidermied: ‘get me somewhat a less dog and clap into the skin [...] will glue it on artificially; it shall ne’er be discerned’ (V.iii.225-230). Jonson perhaps hints here that the satirical target of *The Isle of Dogs* has been newly-presented, or re-skinned, in *Every Man Out*.

That *Every Man Out* satirically reflects on the suppression of *The Isle of Dogs* is made clear in the Induction to the play. The author figure Asper, who is closely aligned with Jonson, states that he is unconcerned about offending anyone with his work when he claims, ‘I fear no mood stamped in a private brow, / When I am pleased to unmask a public vice’ (Induction 19-20). However, Cordatus and Mitis repeatedly express concerns about the possible consequences of its content. Mitis warns Asper to ‘take heed: / The days are dangerous, full of exception, / And men are grown impatient of reproof’ (Induction 121-123). Mitis possibly alludes here to the fallout from *The Isle of Dogs*, but also to the 1598 restraints against players, and the 1599 ban on satires, epigrams, histories and plays without the Privy Council’s approval.²²⁷ Asper refuses to be cowed by these restrictions and declares: ‘My strict hand was made to seize on vice, and with a grip / Crush out the humour of such spongy souls / As lick up every idle vanity’ (Induction 142-145). Asper claims that he will not feed the audience palatable plays that they can consume like scavenging dogs. Notably, Thomas Dekker is believed to have satirised Jonson as Horace in *Satiro-mastix* (1602). In this play, Tucca informs Horace, ‘when the Stagerites banisht thee into the Ile of Dogs, thou turn’dst Ban-dog (villanous Guy) & euer since bitest, therefore I aske if th’ast been at Parris-garden, because thou hast such a good mouth; thou baitst well’.²²⁸ Dekker’s characterisation of Jonson as a ban-dog, a breed that was

²²⁷ Ostovich argues that Jonson wrote his comical satire a few months after the ban on verse satire and intended for ‘some idea of succession to be inferred.’ See Ostovich, ‘Introduction’, p. 12. For further discussion of this generic shift, see C. R. Baskervill, *English Elements in Jonson’s Early Comedies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1911); O. J. Campbell, *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare’s Troilus and Cressida* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1938).

²²⁸ Dekker, *Satiro-mastix*, sig.G4^r.

commonly associated with vicious raillery, suggests that the suppression of *The Isle of Dogs* and Jonson's imprisonment spurred him on to strike back at the restrictions placed on authors.

Ostovich notes that *The Isle of Dogs* affair was actually a turning point in Jonson's career as it gave him an 'enhanced reputation as a satirist among the Inns of Court students, many of whom were satirists themselves.'²²⁹ She suggests that the dramas performed at the Inns of Court, with their 'blend of epideictic flattery and witty criticism', appealed to Jonson as they honed the young lawyers diplomatic skills and taught them how to convey 'astute political messages to the Queen under the pretence of Christmas games'.²³⁰ In the Induction to *Every Man Out*, Jonson invokes Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, who was used in the Inns of Courts tradition as a 'symbol of the Queen's body political' by the lawyers, who represented themselves as Minerva's servants with 'a special license both to advise the Queen and to entertain her in revels with dancing and plays' (Induction 52).²³¹ Jonson therefore aligns himself with the Inns of Court tradition of striking a balance between entertaining and instructing audience members. Comparably, Janet Clare argues that through identifying *Every Man Out* as a '*Vetus Comedia*', Jonson also aligned it with 'the Aristophanic tradition' (Induction 228).²³² In his discussion of Aristophanes's *Wasps*, Reckford suggests that as well as satirising Cleon, Bdelycleon 'personifies the aims and methods of the comic poet, who hates Cleon and wants to teach his audience a moral and political lesson by putting them in good humour.'²³³ Like Nashe, Jonson supports the idea that a moral lesson will be more usefully received by audiences if the medium in which it is delivered is entertaining.

²²⁹ Ostovich, p.29.

²³⁰ Ostovich, p.31.

²³¹ Ostovich, p.115, n.52.

²³² Janet Clare, 'Jonson's "Comical Satires" and the Art of Courtly Compliment', in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, ed. by Julie Sanders, with Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp.28-47 (p.31).

²³³ Reckford, p.254.

As previously stated, Jonson directly reflects on his own role as a playwright through the figure of Asper, who condemns the restraints placed on writers.²³⁴ Asper welcomes the audience as ‘Gracious and kind spectators’, but informs them that he will not flatter them for advancement: ‘mistake me not, judicious friends: / I do not this to beg your patience, / Or servilely to fawn on your applause’ (Induction 50, 54-56). Through Asper, Jonson embraces his characterisation as a biting critic and stresses that he is not a fawning sycophant. Although Carlo Buffone mocks Asper’s claims of moral uprightness, he does liken him to ‘a one-headed Cerberus’, thus indicating the playwright’s, and by extension Jonson’s, ferocity (Induction 336). Carlo also claims that Asper has a ‘*caninum appetitum*’, which refers to a medical condition whereby the sufferers were said to have an insatiable appetite that caused them to eat until they vomited and, once they had purged their stomachs, they would begin eating again (Induction 332).²³⁵ In suggesting Asper suffers from a ‘*caninum appetitum*’, Jonson is perhaps replying to Lichfield’s accusation in *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* that, like the proverbial dog that always returns to its vomit, Nashe will continue to write satires; Jonson thus declares that he will also regurgitate his own satirical attacks and continue to expose vices through his writing.²³⁶ Asper, however, perhaps portrays the idealised circumstances playwrights wished to enjoy, unrestrained by patronage or censorship.²³⁷ Carlo Buffone and Macilente, both of whom are also characterised as dogs, more accurately represent the reality experienced by players and playwrights.

²³⁴ The introduction to Kate Chedgzoy, Julie Sanders, and Susan Wiseman’s edited collection *Refashioning Ben Jonson* provides an overview of the model of authorship that Jonson was engaged in shaping for himself: Kate Chedgzoy, Julie Sanders, and Susan Wiseman, ‘Introduction: Refashioning Ben Jonson’, in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, ed. by Julie Sanders, with Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp.5-15.

²³⁵ Juhani Nori, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English, 1375-1550: Body Parts, Sickesses, Instruments, and Medical Preparations* (London: Routledge, 2016), p.61. Notably, James I wrote to his Council on 19 October 1607, when he was away hunting, about his financial problems, asking them to: ‘help my memory when men come with new suits that have already been largely rewarded, for since there are so many gapers and so little to be spared, I must needs answer those with the *boulimie* or *caninus appetitus*’. This medical condition was therefore associated with greedy courtiers, whose hunger could never be satisfied. See, ‘Letter 136: To the Council’, in *Letters of King James VI & I*, ed. by G. P. V. Akrigg (London: University of California Press, 1984), p.292.

²³⁶ Lichfield, sig.G^v.

²³⁷ For a wider discussion of censorship in Jonson’s works, see Richard Burt, *Licensed by Authority: Ben Jonson and the Discourses of Censorship* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Carlo Buffone is characterised as a dog in a more overt manner than Asper; he even barks at one point in the play (III.i.470). It is likely that Carlo was played by Robert Armin who, as discussed, had ‘a physical affinity with dogs’.²³⁸ Relatedly, his name Buffone draws on both the Italian for ‘clown’ and the cant word for ‘dog’, thus drawing on the similitude between fools and canines, which was outlined in the introduction to this chapter.²³⁹ Carlo’s character description highlights his dogginess: ‘A good feast-hound or banquet beagle that will scent you out a supper some three mile off’, whose ‘religion is railing, and his discourse, ribaldry’ (Characters 25-26, 30-31). Carlo is depicted here as a dog of the ‘gentle kinde’, which were favoured by the ruling elite and often found at court, eating the gentleman’s scraps from the floor. However, in Act Two, Scene One, Carlo’s relentless mockery causes Puntarvolo to declare, ‘Peace, you bandog, peace!’ (II.i.382). Carlo is thus aligned with the dogs that were used to guard property and bait bears, thereby emphasising the savage nature of his verbal attacks. In addition, Macilente describes Carlo as ‘an open-throated, black-mouthed cur / That bites at all, but eats on those that feed him’ (I.ii.234-235). Macilente refers to the melanistic mask that some dogs have around their muzzles to convey Carlo’s aggression towards others. However, Macilente invokes the proverb, ‘don’t bite the hand that feeds you’, to suggest that while Carlo will not attack those who support him, as a parasite he leeches all that he can from his patrons. In line with this, Puntarvolo claims, ‘It is in the power of my purse to make [Carlo] speak well or ill of me’ (II.i.496-497). As Murakami argues, Carlo ‘is economically motivated to remain just this side of true offense.’²⁴⁰ Carlo therefore does not put his *canina facundia* to good use and instead uses his wit to serve his own interests.

²³⁸ Wiles, p.73.

²³⁹ ‘bufe, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/24290>> [accessed 8 November 2017]. For the inclusion of this term in a cant dictionary, see Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light; or, The Bell-mans Second Nights Walke* (London, 1608), sig.C1^r.

²⁴⁰ Murakami, p.131.

Although Macilente is highly critical of Carlo, he is also frequently depicted as a dog. For example, Carlo describes him as ‘A lean mongrel’ who ‘looks as if he were chap-fallen with barking at other men’s good fortunes’ (I.ii.214, 215-216). Carlo’s suggestion that Macilente’s barking is motivated by envy rather than to highlight the vices of those he attacks, recalls Nashe’s criticism in *Pierce Penilesse* of those who ‘run their words at random like a dog that hath lost his master, and are vpppe with this man and that man, and generally inuay against al men’.²⁴¹ While Macilente’s depiction as a ‘lean mongrel’ alludes to his masterless state and cynical nature, in his first appearance on stage he states:

I am no such pilled cynic to believe
That beggary is the only happiness;
Or (with a number of these patient fools)
To sing ‘My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is’
When the lank hungry belly barks for food. (I.i.11-15)

Macilente alludes to the Cynic’s dog-like nature here, with ‘pilled’ meaning ‘covered with fur’.²⁴² However, he admits that he cannot live like the Cynics, who did not rely on patrons, as the ‘lank hungry belly barks for food.’ Macilente consequently is forced to seek employment with the merchant Deliro, who informs him that he is welcome to ‘sojourn even forever’ in his house and hopes that his best ‘cates’ will persuade Macilente to stay (II.ii.3, 4). In his characteristically envious humour, Macilente laments, ‘I see no reason why that dog called Chance / Should fawn upon this fellow more than me’, but admits that Deliro’s ‘wealth (but nodding on my wants) / Must make me bow and cry, “I thank you sir”’ (II.ii.9-10, 15-16). Macilente views Chance as a fawning dog that indiscriminately rewards certain individuals over others, thus forcing Macilente to ‘bow’ down to Deliro in order to earn a living, reducing him to a fawning dog. Macilente may have aspired to be a dog-like Cynic, but like Carlo he must serve a patron in order to survive.

²⁴¹ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.D2^r.

²⁴² ‘pilled, adj.1’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), online edn <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/143911>> [accessed 22 January 2018].

The dog imagery used to describe Asper, Macilente and Carlo Buffone lays the foundations for the entrance of Puntarvolo's greyhound, which indicates that the animal's inclusion should be read alongside these satirical figures. Puntarvolo first appears on the stage having returned from the hunt, which is indicated by '*A cry of hounds within*', and the play text specifies that he is accompanied by 'a Greyhound' (II.i.180sd, 188sd). Martin Randall suggests that due to the 'relationship between dogs and royalty', the greyhound's inclusion and subsequent poisoning 'creates worrying political associations', particularly considering the attempts to poison Elizabeth I, such as the infamous alleged attempt by Dr Roderigo Lopez in 1594, and the lesser-known attempt by Edward Squire in 1597.²⁴³ Greyhounds had a special relationship with English royals as they were regarded 'as a symbol of the nation'.²⁴⁴ The greyhound's eminent position was, according to Caius's *Of Englishe Dogges*, because it was considered 'simply and absolutely the best of the gentle kinde of houndes'.²⁴⁵ However, Puntarvolo's greyhound is seen to only be playing the part of a hunting hound as its prowess in the chase is not referred to once in *Every Man Out*. The first time Puntarvolo directly introduces his dog, he reveals his plan to take it with himself and his wife when he travels to 'the Turk's court in Constantinople' (II.i.529). Puntarvolo states 'I am determined to put forward some five thousand pound to be paid me five for one upon the return of myself, my wife, and my dog' (II.i.526-529). There is an obvious absurdity in Puntarvolo placing an equal value on his dog as that placed on himself and his wife but more significantly, perhaps, is that the greyhound is not valued for its ability to capture prey but instead becomes part of the Elizabethan practise of dealing upon returns. Puntarvolo's misuse of the greyhound reflects on the misplaced and materialistic values of courtiers.

²⁴³ Randall Martin, 'Stepping into Risky Business: Jonson's Canine Ventures in *Every Man Out of His Humour*', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 12 (2005), 1-21 (pp.7, 10, 15).

²⁴⁴ Thomas, p.108. For further discussion of the cultural significance of the greyhound in the medieval and early modern periods, see Edmund Russell, *Greyhound Nation: A Coevolutionary History of England, 1200-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.21-54.

²⁴⁵ Caius, sig.F4^v. The privileged position occupied by greyhounds in the canine hierarchy is indicated in the first book of Gervase Markham's *Country Contentments* (1615), which dedicates a separate section to how to breed, care, train and hunt with greyhounds: Markham, *Country Contentments*, sig.O^f-P^v.

The absurd worth placed on the dog leads Carlo to ask if the dog goes ‘barefoot’, as ‘He may prick his foot with a thorn, and be as much as the whole venture is worth’ (II.i.540, 542-544). This alludes to the extravagant worth now placed on the dog’s safety but also assumes a delicacy in the dog, which contradicts the greyhound’s reputation as a capable and courageous hunter, such as that which Shakespeare draws upon in *Henry V* when the English soldiers are described as ‘greyhounds in the slips’, eager for battle (*Henry V* III.i.31). Bruce Boehrer rightly asserts that the dog ‘seems to be a confused kind of lapdog’.²⁴⁶ Indeed, Puntarvolo is seen to indulge his greyhound in a manner almost identical to the ‘daintie dames’ Caius describes in *Of Englishe Dogges*, who pamper to their lapdogs like children.²⁴⁷ When informing the Notary of his travel plans, Puntarvolo outlines the care he expects for his dog and his cat (who replaces his wife after she is no longer able to join him on his trip to Constantinople), claiming that ‘hiring a coach for myself, it shall be lawful for my dog and cat to ride with me in the said coach’ and ‘I may choose to give my dog or cat fish, for fear of bones, or any other nutriment that (by the judgement of the most authentical physicians where I travel) shall be thought dangerous’. (IV.iii.18, 21, 23-26). Although the care Puntarvolo shows to his greyhound and his cat is largely to ensure that he makes back his money when he returns from Constantinople, the transformation of the most highly prized hunting hound into a lapdog ties in to the play’s concerns with the failures of service.

As was outlined in the introduction to this chapter, lapdogs were a commodity that exemplified the wealth and status of the ruling elite. Topsell makes this particularly clear when he describes lapdogs as ‘some foisting Dogges for the pleasure of the rich.’²⁴⁸ Notably, when describing

²⁴⁶ Bruce Boehrer, *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p.152.

²⁴⁷ Ostovich argues that Puntarvolo’s extreme devotion to his dog may have been based on Sir John Harrington’s affection for his dog Bungey or an account concerning a fellow dog-lover Dr Boleyn, which is arguably alluded to in Act five, Scene one of *Twelfth Night*: ‘Mr. Francis Curle told me how one Dr. Bullen [Boleyn], the Q[ueen]’s kinsman, had a dog which he doted on, so much that the Q[ueen], understanding of it, requested he would grant her one desire, and he should have whatsoever he would ask. She demanded his dog; he gave it, and “Now, madam,” q[uoth] he, “you promised to give me my desire.” “I will,” q[uoth] she. “Then I pray you give me my dog again” (p.246, n.491).

²⁴⁸ Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.N3^r.

‘*Melitæi canes*’, Topsell takes a slightly more positive stance and claims such dogs are ‘not small in vnderstanding, nor mutable in their loue to men’ and are therefore ‘nourished tenderly for pleasure; whereupon came the prouerbe *Melitæa Catella*, for one norished for pleasure, & *Canis digno throno*, because princes hold them in their hands sitting vpon their estate’.²⁴⁹ This suggests that lapdogs were rewarded for the joy they gave to their noble masters, much like courtiers who provided rulers with companionship. However, such individuals may not have wanted to risk losing their privileged positions by speaking unfavourable truths to their royal masters. Hence why Francis Meres associated lapdogs with gratifying courtiers in his *Palladis Termia*, as was discussed in the introductory section to this chapter. By reducing the noble greyhound to a lapdog, Jonson criticises individuals who fail to provide the ruling elite with useful counsel and instead fawn over them for rewards.

Puntarvolo’s concern for his greyhound is juxtaposed with his pejorative view of his servants, most notably the grooms that he charges with caring for his dog. For example, in Act Three, Scene One, Puntarvolo informs his servingman, ‘If thou lovest my dog, thou shalt die a dog’s death: I will hang thee’ (III.i.58-59). This suggests that the dog’s life is worth more to Puntarvolo than that of his human servant, which prompts Carlo to advise the servingman to kill the dog: ‘Sblood, poison him, make him away with a crooked pin or somewhat, man. Thou mayest have more security of thy life’ (III.i.62-64). A similar situation occurs in Act Five, Scene One when Puntarvolo takes the greyhound to court but is unable to take him into the presence chamber. He therefore states, ‘I must leave him with one that is ignorant of his quality, if I will have him to be safe. And see: here comes one that will carry coals; *ergo*, will hold my dog’ (V.i.15-16). According to Ostovich, ‘The task of the meanest drudges in great houses was to transport coals’.²⁵⁰ Puntarvolo therefore identifies the Groom as a servant of the lowest status; he consequently assumes that the Groom would be ignorant of the dog’s value and so would not be tempted to either steal or sell him. The Groom is angered by this assumption and when

²⁴⁹ Topsell, *Beastes*, sig.P3^v.

²⁵⁰ *Every Man Out*, p.319, n.17.

Puntarvolo departs, he states ‘‘Sblood, what a mad, humorous gentleman is this, to leave his dog with me! I could run away with him now, an he were worth anything. Well, I pray God send him quickly again’ (V.i.39-47). The Groom hopes that the knight will return quickly or he may be tempted to give the dog away, regardless of its worth.²⁵¹ The Groom is prompted to do just this by Macilente who sees it as an opportunity to poison the dog. By disrespecting the Groom and assuming his ignorance of the greyhound’s worth, Puntarvolo leaves his beloved dog vulnerable to Macilente’s malice; the greyhound is poisoned only moments later in the play and kicked off-stage to die.

The poisoning of the greyhound serves several functions in *Every Man Out*. Firstly, the greyhound’s murder would not only be considered controversial due to its royal associations and allusions to contemporary attempts to poison Elizabeth I, as Martin suggests, but also because hounds were exempted from the dog massacres that occurred in early modern England. By having the noble greyhound killed, Jonson indicates that members of the ruling elite are not exempted from the play’s satirical intent. However, the poisoning of the greyhound may conversely serve as a reminder of the consequences suffered by playwrights if they offended prominent individuals, as *The Isle of Dogs* presumably did.

As discussed, the poisoning of the greyhound may partly reflect on the censorship of *The Isle of Dogs* and the restrictions placed on authors more generally. Indeed, Puntarvolo’s greyhound is not the only dog that is punished in the play; in Act Five, Scene Three, Carlo Buffone has his lips sealed with wax for relentlessly mocking Puntarvolo for ‘shedding funeral tears over his departed dog’ (V.iii.109). Spurred on by Macilente, Carlo states that that a ‘quacksalver’ may be able to resurrect the dog and then advises Puntarvolo to ‘flay’ the dog and ‘stuff his skin well with straw’, or with ‘a somewhat less dog’ (V.iii.192, 221, 222, 225-226). As previously stated, through the repeated suggestions of how Puntarvolo’s greyhound could be brought back to life,

²⁵¹ There are interesting parallels here to Act Three, Scene Two of *Thomas of Woodstock*, in which Plain Thomas is mistaken for a groom and asked to watch a courtier’s horse who has come to visit him.

Jonson alludes to the contents of *The Isle of Dogs* being re-presented in *Every Man Out*. Carlo's mockery provokes Puntarvolo to 'seal up his lips' with wax and, before Puntarvolo silences the jester he calls him a 'bandog' and a 'cur', which suggests that the literal muzzling of the play's most biting individual reflects on the suppression of *The Isle of Dogs* and the consequences faced by those involved in its production (V.iii.262sd, 239, 247).

That Carlo's muzzling is a reflection on the silencing of writers more generally is suggested in the play's Induction, where Asper defends the satirical intent of his play by asking: 'Who can behold such prodigies as these, / And have his lips seal'd up?' (Induction 10-11). Asper foreshadows Carlo's punishment here but claims that he will not be silenced as he refuses to 'flatter vice, and daub iniquity', instead claiming that he will 'strip the ragged follies of the time / Naked as at their birth' (Induction 13, 15-16). Nevertheless, Asper (still in costume as Macilente), ends the play by stating:

I will not do as Plautus in his *Amphitryo*, for all this: *Summi Iovis causa plaudite*; beg a plaudite for God's sake. But if you, out of the bounty of your good liking, will bestow it, why, you may, in time, make lean Macilente as fat as sir John Falstaff. (V.iv.58-63)

Although Jonson claims he will not flatter the audience and beg for their applause, he acknowledges that he is nonetheless reliant upon their approval and praise for employment. In these final lines, Jonson notably refers to the character of Falstaff from Shakespeare's *1* and *2 Henry IV*, playing upon the knight's 'portly' physique in recognition of his popularity on the early modern stage (*1 Henry IV* II.iv.416). This is perhaps a slight jibe at Shakespeare for catering to the tastes of playgoers rather than delivering a didactic message through his works. Shakespeare, however, was likely also concerned with, what Murakami terms, 'the paradoxical conditions of writing for the public theater in this period.'²⁵² Like Nashe and Jonson, Shakespeare employed the canine trope in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* to reflect on the

²⁵² Murakami, p.152.

playwright's desire to counsel their audience members but also their need to flatter and entertain them in order to maintain employment.

4.4 'When a man's servant shall play the cur': Servants, Players and Canines in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

As discussed in the previous section, John Peachman argues that Shakespeare composed *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* during the theatre closures in the summer of 1597, partly as a satire on *The Isle of Dogs* scandal and 'in anticipation of the commercial opportunity available for a topical play when the theatre eventually re-opened'.²⁵³ Peachman's argument is undermined by the fact that *Two Gentlemen* is usually considered to be Shakespeare's earliest play.²⁵⁴ The editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare*, for example, argue that the majority of the play was conceived of before 1589, making 'composition with Tarleton in mind a serious possibility'.²⁵⁵ However, they acknowledge that it is 'entirely possible that the extant text is a composite containing both early and later work'.²⁵⁶ This argument draws on Clifford Leech's proposal that the play was written in two strata, with the first written in 1592 and the second in 1593.²⁵⁷ Therefore, Peachman's argument, while intriguing, does not align with the more generally accepted dating of *Two Gentlemen*. There are, nevertheless, notable points of comparison

²⁵³ Peachman, 'Why a Dog?', p.271. Peachman also argues that Jonson replied to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* in *Every Man Out of His Humour* through his satirical representation of Shakespeare as Sogliardo and by including a dog on stage. In a separate article, Peachman argues that Dekker's parenthetical 'villanous Guy' in *Satiromastix* is a reference to the anonymous play *Guy of Warwick*, which he suggests was written in response to Shakespeare satirising the *Isle of Dogs*: John Peachman, 'Ben Jonson's "Villanous Guy"', *Notes & Queries*, 56 (2009), 566-574. *Guy of Warwick* was first published in 1661 but is believed to have been written much earlier as a satire on Shakespeare. For further discussion of this play, see Alfred Harbage, 'An Early Attack on Shakespeare?', *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, 16 (1941), 42-9; Helen Cooper, 'Guy of Warwick, Upstart Crows and Mounting Sparrows', in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp.119-138.

²⁵⁴ For further discussion of *Two Gentlemen* as Shakespeare's earliest play, see: William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. by William Roger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.24-25; Stanley Wells, 'The Failure of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 99 (1963), 161-73; Terri Bourus, *Young Shakespeare's Young Hamlet: Print, Piracy, and Performance* (New York: Palgrave, 2014), pp.137-144.

²⁵⁵ Gary Taylor and Rory Loughnane, 'The Canon and Chronology of Shakespeare's Works', in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.417-602 (p.487); Meres, sig.Oo2^r.

²⁵⁶ Taylor and Loughnane, p.486.

²⁵⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. by Clifford Leech, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London: Methuen, 1969), pp.xxi-xxxv. Leech suggested that the passages including Launce and Crab were later additions (II.iii, II.v, III.i.260-372 and IV.iv.1-59).

between the canine imagery employed by both Shakespeare and Nashe, which indicate that Shakespeare may have been influenced by Nashe's earlier writings.²⁵⁸ A key source of inspiration for Shakespeare's use of dog imagery in *Two Gentlemen* was possibly *Summer's Last Will and Testament*; Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests Shakespeare may have been part of the cast that was 'opportunistically gathered together from such currently dispersed companies as the Queen's Men, Lord Strange's Men and the Children of the Queen's Chapel', to perform this play at Whitgift's residence in Croydon (following the outbreak of plague and the subsequent closure of the commercial theatres on 23 June 1592), and that Shakespeare possibly played the part of Summer.²⁵⁹ It is therefore possible that Shakespeare was inspired by Nashe's play, as well as his other works that employ the canine trope, to incorporate an actual dog in *Two Gentlemen* to reflect on service, counsel, and the purposes of playing.

While it has often been suggested that Crab and Launce are not central aspects of *Two Gentlemen*, the present discussion will suggest that Shakespeare incorporated a live dog on stage to reflect on the play's preoccupation with service and counsel, its associated anxieties and importance to the overarching social order.²⁶⁰ It will suggest that Crab and the canine trope are used in the play to reflect on the service provided by playwrights and players to both their noble patrons and the paying audience members who attended the public theatres, as well as the attendant anxieties of losing employment if they failed to entertain their audiences or caused

²⁵⁸ J. J. M. Tobin argues that there are verbal parallels between *Two Gentlemen* and Nashe's *Have With you to Saffron-Walden*, most notably concerning fawning spaniels and curs: J. J. M. Tobin, 'Nashe and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*', *Notes & Queries*, 28 (1981), 122-123. Tobin also argues that Shakespeare read *Summer's Last Will and Testament* before it was published in 1600 due to the evident verbal borrowings in *Richard III* and *1 and 2 Henry IV*: J. J. M. Tobin, 'Nashe and *Richard III*', *Notes & Queries*, 29 (1982), 112-113. J. M. Robertson had previously argued that the play was first written by Robert Greene and revised by Shakespeare, with the passages including Launce and Crab being contributions by Thomas Nashe: J. M. Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon, Part II: The Two Gentlemen of Verona; Richard II; The Comedy of Errors; Measure for Measure* (London: Routledge, 1923), pp.43-44.

²⁵⁹ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, pp.49, 50.

²⁶⁰ For studies which suggest Launce and Crab are not central to the play's narrative, see: Louis B. Wright, 'Animal Actors on the English Stage Before 1642', *PMLA*, 42 (1927), 656-669, (p.661); Matthew Bliss, 'Property or Performer? Animals on the Elizabethan Stage', *Theatre Studies*, 39 (1994), 45-59, (p.55); Kathleen Campbell, 'Shakespeare's Actors as Collaborators: Will Kempe and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*,' in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. by June Schleuter, pp.179-187 (p.180).

offence to noble patrons. If we accept that *Two Gentlemen* was written, or at least revised, between 1592 and 1594, then it was composed during a period in which Shakespeare was performing and writing for the commercial stage, while he was engaged in (or seeking to gain), a more traditional form of patronage under the Earl of Southampton, through his narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594). In 1594, Shakespeare also joined the newly-formed *Chamberlain's Men*, a company that operated under the patronage of Henry Carey and which was commissioned to provide two court performances during the Christmas festivities of 1594. Indeed, one of the two comedies played during this season, may have been *Two Gentlemen* — Elizabeth I had after all enjoyed Tarlton's previous court performance that incorporated her lapdog, Perrico de Faldas. The inclusion of the dog Crab was arguably included to please Shakespeare's noble audience members but possibly also to reflect on the purposes of such entertainments. Like Nashe and Jonson, Shakespeare employed the canine trope to reflect on the ambivalence he felt about his role as a dependent counsellor to the ruling elite.

In *Two Gentlemen*, Shakespeare subverts the traditional depiction of dogs as loyal and affectionate servants to humans through Crab's apparent disdain for his master Launce, who dotes upon his disobedient dog. Set in the court of Milan, one of early modern Italy's most powerful princely states, the topsy-turvy relationship between Crab and Launce reflects on anxieties about authority and the stability of established hierarchies.²⁶¹ Like Launce, the Duke of Milan fails to secure true obedience from those in his service, which is evidenced by Valentine and Proteus feigning loyalty to the Duke for their own aims. The relationship between Launce and Crab is not solely a humorous addition to the play but is used to reflect on the political significance of master-servant relations and the order of society more generally.

²⁶¹ On the political significance of early modern Milan, see Mark Jurdjevic, 'Political Cultures', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by Michael Wyatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.298-319 (p.308).

Neill argues that due to the ‘economic difficulties faced by many households during the crisis of the 1590s’, service was no longer viewed as ‘a relationship determined by natural ties of “love” and “duty”, but a species of commercial contract, a system of calibrated rewards for services rendered’.²⁶² For some commentators, Neill suggests, ‘it was precisely the reinscription of service as a purely monetary connection that threatened to unstitch the proper bond between master and servant.’²⁶³ Such financial ‘rewards’ arguably also influenced playwrights when writing for influential patrons and audiences, as this chapter has demonstrated through analysis of the canine trope in Nashe’s and Jonson’s works. Notably, anxieties about the degeneration of the bond between master and servant are explored through animal imagery in Gervase Markham’s *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruingmen: Or, The Seruingmans Comfort* (1598):

For what doth a Gentleman now adayes care more for his Man, then to serue his present turne? No, no more for him then he doth for his Dogge or his Horse, who while they can do him seruice, he is content to allow them meate, and other necessaries: But when the Horse falles blynde or lame, knocke him in the head: when the Dogge growes so olde as he can do nothing but lie by the fyre, cut his throate, what is he good for, but to spende victualles: and the Seruingman, when the Sommer of his yeeres are spent, and that crooked olde age hath summoned him to make her many low curtesies, with bended knees, so as he is not able now by his seruice to earne Otemeale for his Pottage, then off goes his shooes, and he is turned to the Common, inpasture is too good for him, for who would keepe one to do nothing, and bread so deare? Thus much doth his Maister regarde him when he is able to do him no more seruice.²⁶⁴

This passage suggests that if servants are viewed and valued as animals, then they are just as easily discarded once their masters no longer have a use for them. William Gouge goes further in *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622) when he asserts ‘Many rich men [...] shew more kindnesse to a dogge, or other beast that is not well, then to a seruant.’²⁶⁵ Shakespeare makes a similar point in *As You Like It* when Oliver dismisses Old Adam along with Orlando, informing the servant, ‘Get you with him, you old dog’. The old man replies ‘Is old dog my reward? Most true, I have

²⁶² Michael Neill, ‘Servant Obedience and Master Sins: Shakespeare and the Bonds of Service’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 101 (1999), 131-171 (pp.152, 153).

²⁶³ Neill, ‘Servant Obedience’, p.154.

²⁶⁴ Gervase Markham, *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruingmen: Or, The Seruingmans Comfort* (London, 1598), sig.I4^r.

²⁶⁵ William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622), sig.Xx3^r.

lost my teeth in your service. God be with my old master! — he would not have spoke such a word' (I.i.79, 80-82). Adam clearly takes offence at being called a 'dog' but he nevertheless draws on a defining characteristic of dogs, their 'teeth', to denote the length of time he has served Oliver's family. Adam's loyalty is not valued by his former master's son, which represents the loss of the bond of love and duty between master and servant.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall argue that, comparable to domestic servants, playwrights and players were acutely aware of their expendability, which made patronage a source of anxiety.²⁶⁶ They suggest that 'the frequency with which the drama itself displays and interrogates this condition is a telling indication of how seriously all members of society felt it.'²⁶⁷ Shakespeare explores this condition through the parallels drawn between Launce and his dog Crab. In their first appearance on stage together, Launce is following his master Proteus to Milan. However, Launce is delayed because he is devastated by Crab's apparent lack of emotion at his departure. To gain sympathy for his plight, Launce re-enacts his departure from his family and his dog for the audience, and uses a variety of objects to represent his family. His shoes represent his parents, his staff his sister and his hat their maid Nan. Launce himself stands in for Crab: 'I am the dog. No, the dog is himself, and I am the dog. O, the dog is me, and I am myself. Ay, so, so.' (II.iii.21-22) While Launce's confusion in casting the role of his dog adds to the humour of this play-within-a-play, it also calls for the audience to compare the roles performed by dogs and servants. In addition, the metatheatrical nature of this scene suggests that Shakespeare has the play's clown-figure identify with his dog in order to reflect on the purposes of playing. As Skura argues, 'in making us laugh at that self-abasement, [Launce] is *our* servant as well, like a player "playing the fool," as Thomas Nashe sneered, to earn a few pennies — and our

²⁶⁶ Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall, 'Introduction: Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England', in *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.1-9 (p.9).

²⁶⁷ Whitfield White and Westfall, p.9.

laughter.’²⁶⁸ Duncan-Jones argues that Shakespeare acknowledges the more frivolous aspect of his plays in Sonnet 110, when the speaker declares: ‘Alas, ’tis true, I have gone here and there, / And made myself a motley to the view / Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear’ (ll.1-3).²⁶⁹ Through the reference to the ‘motley’ garments traditionally worn by fools in this sonnet, Shakespeare aligns his role as a player with that performed by these popular comic entertainers. Indeed, Shakespeare likely mocked himself through the character of Launce, whose name is a pun on ‘Shake-spear’. By casting Launce first as the dog Crab and then as Crab’s servant, Shakespeare acknowledges that he has humiliated himself to amuse his audience and maintain employment. In *Two Gentlemen* Shakespeare not only identifies himself with fools and clowns, but also with dogs.

It is clear in his first scene on stage that Launce is making a significant sacrifice by travelling to Milan to serve Proteus. However, Launce must follow Proteus to keep his employment, despite his apparent reluctance to do so. Launce’s dependence on his master is made clear when Panthino warns him that if he misses his ship he will ‘in losing thy voyage, lose thy master, and in losing thy master, lose thy service, and in losing thy service—’ (II.iii.41-43). Launce does not want to contemplate what it would mean to lose his employment and places his hand over Panthino’s mouth at this point in the scene, which is indicated when Panthino asks, ‘why dost thy stop my mouth?’ (II.iii.43-44). Launce’s fears of losing his position recalls the household manuals that cite the derogatory treatment servants received at the hands of their masters when they were cast out of service, like Old Adam, and reduced to a dog-like state. If Launce were to lose his role as Proteus’s servant, he would be like a dog without a master, a stray dependent on others for scraps. Panthino’s warning foreshadows Launce’s fate as he later jeopardises his employment after the lapdog, which Proteus intended for Silvia, is stolen from him by the hangman’s boys. Proteus’s last words to Crab are, ‘get thee hence, and find my dog again, / Or ne’er return again into my sight’ (IV.iv.57-58). While Launce is not dismissed from service like

²⁶⁸ Skura, p.165.

²⁶⁹ Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow*, pp.27-28.

a dog, as Old Adam is in *As You Like It*, his terms of service are bound up with the disparate cultural capital placed on a dainty lapdog. Shakespeare arguably reflects here on his fears of losing employment and being reduced to a vagabond, hence why Launce continues to serve Proteus despite his awareness that his master 'is a kind of knave' (III.i.261).

The parallels drawn between servants and dogs in *Two Gentlemen* can be used to illuminate Crab's significance in the play. Launce specifically describes Crab as his 'servant' but it is not clear what service the dog provides for his master (IV.iv.1). As was outlined in the introductory section to this chapter, different dogs had different uses for humans, and when reading dogs in early modern plays it is important to ascertain what kind of dog is being represented. In Crab's case, this is not explicit; nevertheless, Richard Beadle begins his article on Crab's 'pedigree' by suggesting that the dog would be placed in Caius's category of the 'tinker's cur'.²⁷⁰ Despite its disparaging designation as a 'Curre', this dog was said to have many useful qualities, to 'loue their masters liberally', and to defend them 'forceably from the inuasion of villons and theefes, preseruing their lyfes from losse, and their health from hassard'.²⁷¹ It is unclear why Beadle suggests that Crab fits into the category as not only is Launce not a tinker but Crab does not provide any of the services outlined above to his human master, and he certainly does not convey a liberal love towards Launce. He also fails to protect Launce from the hangman's boys who steal the lapdog that was intended for Silvia. Relatedly, the only indication of Crab's 'pedigree' is given when Launce attempts to substitute him for the stolen lapdog. Crab describes the lapdog as a 'squirrel', which emphasises its diminutive size in contrast to Crab, who Launce informs Proteus 'is a dog as big as ten of yours' (IV.iv.53, 55-56). Proteus and Silvia have less commendable views of Crab: Silvia views him as a 'cur' and Proteus uses the impersonal pronoun 'this' to identify the dog when expressing his horror that Crab was presented to Silvia as a gift on his behalf by Launce (IV.iv.47, 52). Crab's 'currish' appearance and lack of apparent use suggests that he would be more appropriately placed in the category

²⁷⁰ Beadle, p.12.

²⁷¹ Caius, sig.E3r.

Caius terms, ‘Curre[s] of the mungrell and rascall sort’, because they ‘rese[m]ble no notable shape, nor exercise any worthy property of the true and gentle kind’ (IV.iv.48).²⁷² Crab is therefore one of the canines that would have been persecuted during the early modern dog massacres, which is perhaps why Shakespeare used this type of dog to reflect on the precarious role of players.

In further support of the argument that Crab represents players, Beadle notes that he resembles the dogs that ‘could be readily trained to perform tricks, or even to take part in plays’.²⁷³ Beadle specifically links Crab to the ‘dogge of fine qualities’ that the Clown Tarlton was said to appear alongside, as is suggested in *Tarlton’s Jests* (first published in 1590). Notably, in the 1638 edition of this text, there is an account of this dog failing to perform a trick of holding a ‘six pence in the end of his tongue, of which he would brag often’, which is alluded to in Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*. However, when a Gentlewoman requested to see the trick, after ‘*Tarlton* threw down a teaster [...] by fortune the Dog took vp a Counter, and let the money lie’. In response to the dog’s failure to perform the trick, the Lady claims that ‘the dog hath made his master an Asse’. Tarlton is consequently shamed by the dog’s failure and ‘would never trust to his Dogs tricks more.’²⁷⁴ Like Tarlton’s dog, Crab fails to perform and fulfil his master’s expectations, however, much of the humour in his role relies upon his very lack of performativity and dogginess. Crab’s misdemeanours are not only, as Bruce Boehrer argues, ‘central failures in a play about the failures of playing’, but also a reflection on the purpose of playing and the hierarchies in which it operated.²⁷⁵

As previously stated, in Launce and Crab’s first appearance on stage together, Shakespeare inverts the traditional depiction of dogs as unwaveringly loyal and affectionate towards their masters, which arguably alludes to the degeneration of the bond between master and servant,

²⁷² Caius, sig.F^v, F2^r.

²⁷³ Beadle, p.13.

²⁷⁴ Tarlton, *Tarlton’s Jests*, sig.E3-E3^v.

²⁷⁵ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p.160.

and the changing patron-client relationship. Launce expresses anxiety about Crab's affection for him when he laments his dog's indifference that he is leaving for Milan:

I think Crab, my dog, be the sourest-natured dog that lives: my mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands, and all our house in a great perplexity, yet did not this cruel-hearted cur shed one tear. He is a stone, a very pebble-stone, and has no more pity in him than a dog. (II.iii.5-11)

The comic premise of this scene lies in its apparent absurdity, from the excessive displays of human anguish, to the feline companion's despair, to Launce's failure to see his dog as a dog. More importantly, the scene makes clear that Crab refuses to fawn upon his master, which may reflect the refusal of players to solely entertain and flatter their audiences and noble patrons. Paradoxically, Shakespeare's inclusion of a dog in *Two Gentlemen* has been attributed with catering to the audience's amusement, as is suggested in a famous line from John Madden's film *Shakespeare in Love*: 'comedy, love and a bit with a dog — that's what they want.'²⁷⁶

Crab is the antithesis of the dutiful and loyal canine because he does not display the ability or even the desire to obey his master's commands. Crab only follows Launce because he is literally tethered to his master. Launce draws attention to this when (punning on 'tide' and 'tied' and the fact that Proteus has 'shipped' to Milan), he states that Crab is the 'unkindest tied that ever man tied', (II.iii.36-37, 38). Panthino is confused by the pun, forcing Launce to make it explicitly clear that he is referring to 'he that's tied here, Crab my dog' (II.iii.39). The emphasis here demands that Crab is held on the leash by Launce, which visually enforces the fact that one party does not have a choice but to participate in this relationship. Elizabeth Carson Pastan explores the visual symbolism of collars and leashes in the medieval Bayeux Embroidery and argues that (much like the bridles worn by horses and the varvels that were attached to the jesses of a hawk), they are 'signs of ownership, signalling the animals' roles in serving man'.²⁷⁷ Furthermore, in his analysis of early modern manuscript miniatures, John

²⁷⁶ *Shakespeare in Love*, dir. John Madden (Universal Pictures, 1998)

²⁷⁷ Elizabeth Carson Pastan, 'Fables, Bestiaries, and the Bayeux Embroidery: Man's Best Friend Meets the "Animal Turn"', in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, pp.97-126 (p.109).

Block Friedman argues that ‘the dog collar symbolically represents the hand of man over nature, showing rational control over the instinctual side of nature and the proper order of a hierarchical society.’²⁷⁸ In extension of this view, the visual symbolism of Launce being tied to Crab may also allude to the sixteenth-century laws and regulations that ordered dogs to be kept on leashes, as well as contemporary restraints against playing.²⁷⁹ As we saw in Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will*, Will Sommers draws upon the fable of the dog and the wolf to denote the chains of patronage and censorship which constrained the freedoms of players. Shakespeare undermines the effectiveness of such restraints through Launce’s disobedience and evident lack of affection for Launce, which arguably represents the playwright’s desire to not have to fawn upon audiences or patrons, while at the same time acknowledging his dependence on them for a living.

Indeed, despite Launce holding Crab on a leash, he fails to control him, which further undermines the regulations against playing to enforce the accepted social order. The destruction of social order is forcefully conveyed through Launce’s account of Crab’s misbehaviour at court: ‘I was sent to deliver him as a present to Mistress Silvia from my master; and I came no sooner into the dining-chamber but he steps me to her trencher and steals her capon’s leg’ (IV.iv.6-9). Launce also recounts how Crab ‘thrusts me himself into the company of three or four gentleman-like dogs, under the Duke’s table; he had not been there (bless the mark) a pissing while, but all the chamber smelt him’ (IV.iv.15-19). The statements, ‘he steps me’ and ‘me himself’ blurs the identities of human and dog to indicate that Launce is still tethered to the uncontrollable Crab. The usual hierarchies conveyed by the image of a dog held on a leash by a human are undermined as Crab breaks social customs by stealing a ‘capon’s leg’, urinating under the Duke’s table and on a ‘gentle-woman’s farthingale’ (IV.iv.11, 18-19, 36-37).²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ John Block Friedman, ‘Dogs in the Identity Formation and Moral Teaching Offered in Some Fifteen-Century Flemish Manuscript Miniatures’, in *Our Dogs, Our Selves*, pp.325-362 (p.358).

²⁷⁹ COL/CC/01/01/024, fol.13^v, cited by Jenner, p.48.

²⁸⁰ Erica Fudge connects Crab’s urination and lack of self-control to an increasing concern for the shame associated with bodily functions in the period, as expounded upon in Norbert Elias’s seminal study *The Civilizing Process*, and

Crab's misbehaviour at court is juxtaposed with the 'gentleman-like dogs, under the Duke's table', which arguably draws upon the traditional representation of courtiers fawning upon nobles and being rewarded with their scraps. In contrast, Crab represents the refusal of playwrights and players to respect individuals solely because of their social status, instead eating directly from the table of the ruling elite.

However, when Launce states, 'When a man's servant shall play the cur with him, look you, it goes hard', he acknowledges that rebellious playwrights risk severe punishments if they disrespect prominent individuals. In response to Crab's actions, individuals at court demand: "Out with the dog", says one; "What cur is that?" says another. "Whip him out", says the third; "Hang him up", says the Duke' (IV.iv.20-22). The punishments demanded in this scene increase in severity and culminate in the Duke calling for the most extreme sentence — for the dog to be hung. In her pivotal study on the centrality of animals in early modern society, Laurie Shannon cites Shakespeare's frequent references to the beating, whipping and hanging of dogs, and argues that this 'not only suggests that Shakespeare was no dog person but also indicates the degree to which "man's best friend" serves as his likeliest figure for revulsion and violent ejection from human company'.²⁸¹ In this instance, however, the punishment of dogs does not convey a hatred for them but rather reflects on the laws that were imposed against them to enforce social order. For example, Jenner argues that the punishment and slaughter of curish dogs 'represented a ferocious reinstatement of magisterial authority'.²⁸² Similarly, John Craig suggests that in churches dogwhippers were not only a solution to 'the problem of dogs barking, fighting, pissing or defecating in the nave or elsewhere, but also as a means of enforcing punitive control over sacred space'.²⁸³ We may recall here that Nashe referred to censors as dog whippers in *Pierce Penilesse* in order to criticise the suppression of texts that were viewed as

consequently argues that the dog's presence on stage 'signals in the most explicit way possible the very real danger of incivility that hangs over the play': Fudge, "'The Dog is Himself'", p.199.

²⁸¹ Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (London: Chicago University Press, 2013), p.241.

²⁸² Jenner, p.54.

²⁸³ Craig, p.121.

‘dangerous for suche of the Queenes liedge people’.²⁸⁴ The call for the ‘fellow that whips the dogs’ to punish Crab is arguably therefore also in reference to the suppression of plays that offended the ruling elite and the punishments meted out to their authors (IV.iv.23). That this scene is concerned with the punishment of players, is supported by Launce, the play’s clown-figure, being whipped on Crab’s behalf, fearing that if he did not the dog would have ‘been hanged for’t’ (IV.iv.14). Given the largely harmless nature of Crab’s transgressions, the threat of execution mocks the authorities’ extreme reactions to texts that were regarded as insulting to the ruling elite. However, when Launce asks, ‘How many masters would do this for his servant? Nay, I’ll be sworn I have sat in the stocks, for puddings he hath stolen, otherwise he had been executed’, Shakespeare simultaneously aligns Launce with the patrons that were meant to protect those in their service if they did cause offence (IV.iv.28-31). Shakespeare therefore acknowledges the importance of players and playwrights having friends in high places, who can advocate on their behalf, should they face punishment for any insulting content they produce.

Despite the risks of offending the ruling elite, the *Two Gentlemen* does have a didactic purpose, which is primarily achieved through the parallels drawn between Launce’s failure to control Crab and the Duke’s inability to maintain order in his Duchy and command the loyalty of the courtiers who claim to serve him. At the beginning of the play, Panthino suggests that ‘gentlemen of good esteem, / Are journeying to salute the Emperor / And to commend their service to his will’ (I.iii.40-42). Panthino, whose son Valentine ‘attends the Emperor in his royal court’, suggests that Antoni should also send his son Proteus, claiming,

There shall he practise tilts and tournaments,
Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
And be in eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth (I.iii.26-27, 29-33).

Panthino makes clear here that the gentlemen of Verona attend the Court of Milan for their own interests rather than to serve the Duke. We might usefully draw a comparison here between the

²⁸⁴ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, sig.I2^v.

courtiers and the ‘gentlemen-like dogs’ found under the Duke’s table, fawning for scraps, and the implication that they are not truly loyal to the Duke.

Indeed, Valentine and Proteus prove to be disloyal to the Duke as both seek to seduce his daughter Silvia. The Duke berates Valentine for aiming to marry his daughter in a speech that features an overlap in equine and canine imagery:

Why, Phaeton, — for thou art Merops’ son, —
Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,
And with thy daring folly burn the world?
Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?
Go, base intruder, over-weening slave,
Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates,
And think my patience, more than thy desert,
Is privilege for thy departure hence.
Thank me for this more than for all the favours
Which, all too much, I have bestowed on thee. (III.i.153-162)

The Duke views Valentine’s presumptuous ambition to marry Silvia as Phaeton-like. However, the royal associations of this analogy (discussed in the first chapter of this thesis), are undermined when the Duke demands Valentine to, ‘Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates’, which depicts Valentine as a dog and thus inferior to Silvia. Valentine is consequently exiled from court to join the masterless men who occupy the forest. While this suggests the strength of the Duke’s authority and his ability to discern false flatterers, the Duke fails to see that Proteus, who he previously suggests may prove ‘meet to be an emperor’s counsellor’, is also disloyal (II.iv.75). The danger of being served by treacherous servants, such as Proteus, is conveyed when, having failed to seduce Silvia in the forest, Proteus threatens her, ‘I’ll force thee yield to my desire’ (V.iv.59). The Duke is therefore surrounded by untrustworthy and false flatterers who undermine his authority and threaten the social order. However, neither Valentine or Proteus are punished for their actions and are instead welcomed back to the court by the Duke, which suggests a criticism of the minimal consequences courtiers faced for their offences, while players were threatened with hanging.

Moreover, the Duke does not create order by exiling Valentine but only allows disorder to rise-up outside of the bounds of his Duchy. Comparable to the popular Robin Hood folktales, Valentine becomes the ‘commander’ and ‘king’ of the outlaws that occupy the forest (IV.i.65). When Valentine first encounters these men, they inform him, ‘some of us are gentlemen / Such as the fury of ungoverned youth / Thrust from the company of awful men’ (IV.i.42-44). Neill has explored the significance of the term ‘masterless man’ and argues that it ‘constituted something of an oxymoron, since service was presented as a condition so universal that properly to be a man was to be somebody’s “man”’.²⁸⁵ To lose one’s position of service is therefore to lose one’s human status. In relation to this, there are echoes in the gentlemen’s descriptions of their loss of service to Crab ‘thrust[ing] [...] himself into the company of three or four gentleman-like dogs’ and the calls to ‘whip him out’. Just as Crab is ejected from civil society for his actions, so too are these men, who having lost their positions of service are reduced to a dog-like state. This transformation is made particularly clear in the final act of the play when the outlaws are implicitly compared to hunting hounds as they ‘chase’ Sir Eglamour through the forest (V.iv.15). Shakespeare arguably reflects here on the reduction of players to masterless men, and therefore to dog-like states, when they cause offence or fail to secure patronage.

The play suggests that the only way for the human status of the outlaws to be restored is through employment. Valentine secures this for them when he appeals to the Duke:

These banished men that I have kept withal
 Are men endowed with worthy qualities.
 Forgive them what they have committed here,
 And let them be recalled from their exile.
 They are reformed, civil, full of good,
 And fit for great employment, worthy lord. (V.iv.150-155)

These masterless men, like stray dogs, are a threat to the social order when they do not have employment but when their ‘qualities’ are employed they can prove useful. Shakespeare

²⁸⁵ Neill, ‘Servant Obedience’, p.140.

therefore uses this final scene to suggest that rewarding players with patronage ensures that they have a productive role within society. However, in accepting patronage, players must accept its conditions and restraints, like the dog in Aesop's fable.

4.5 'Take heed, sirrah, the whip': Canine Counsellors in *King Lear*

In *King Lear*, Shakespeare more directly draws on the ambivalence surrounding dogs to represent the dangers of rulers indulging flattering courtiers over true counsellors.²⁸⁶ In this later play, canines emerge as an especially unstable emblem of maligned sycophancy and venerated loyalty. This instability is captured in Lear's lament over Cordelia's dead body, at the end of the play: 'Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life, / And thou no breath at all?' (V.iii.305-206). Poole notes that Shakespeare does not arrange these three animals in a more suitable sequence of hierarchy, 'a rat, a dog, a horse', or vice versa, and instead 'starts with the dog because the dog shares qualities both with the horse and the rat. The dog is a creature that could go, as it were, either way, up the scale or down.'²⁸⁷ Notably, *Lear* was written during the early years of James I's reign as King of England, when the Chamberlain's Men had come under his royal patronage, and were consequently renamed the King's Men. Shakespeare's position in the human social hierarchy had therefore shifted considerably; he was now a servant to the King and arguably saw it as his duty to advise his new sovereign master through his plays. Shakespeare's appropriation of the canine trope in *Lear* for this purpose was arguably influenced by criticisms of James I's style of government, specifically accusations that he prioritised hunting over his duties as king, and that he held his favourites in greater esteem than his qualified advisers. In this context, Shakespeare's use of canine imagery is more pointed as a vehicle of criticism than that employed in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Written under the auspices of a royal patron, *Lear* represents Shakespeare's attempt to directly counsel his

²⁸⁶ William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1997). All subsequent references to this play will be supplied in parentheses.

²⁸⁷ Poole, p.90.

monarch, but his repeated use of dog imagery acknowledges the punishments he faced if he offended his royal patron. As Lear warns the Fool, 'Take heed, sirrah, the whip' (I.iv.108).

One of the main criticism of James I's style of government was the long periods of time he spent hunting with a small group of favourites, and consequently neglecting matters of state.²⁸⁸

Stewart argues that '[c]omplaints about James's hunting were almost always complaints about James's style of government — or, more properly, his failure to govern because of his absence.'²⁸⁹ Similarly, Marcham suggests that the King's 'preoccupation with pleasure put power in the hands of ministers and deprived England of the benefit of personal rule.'²⁹⁰

Writing in 1603, the Venetian Ambassador observed that the King 'remits everything to the Council, and spends his time in the house alone, or in the country at the chase.'²⁹¹ As James's counsellors were given a great deal of responsibility over matters of state, emphasis was placed on who these people were and the role they were expected to perform.

Notably, in *Basilikon Doran*, James I advises his son that,

It is not onely lawfull, but necessarie, that yee haue companie meete for euerything yee take on hand, as well as in your games and exercises as in your graue and earnest affaires. But learne to distingeishe time according to the occasion, chesing your companie accordinglye. Conferre not with hunters at your counsell, nor in your counsel affaires; nor dispatche not affaires at hunting or other games. And haue the like respect to the seasons of your aage, vsing your sortes of recreation and companie therefore, agreeing thereunto: [...] take heede specially, that your companie for recreation, be chosen of honest persons, not defamed or vicious, mixing filthie talke with merrinesse.²⁹²

It is noteworthy that James focuses specifically on hunting when discussing how his son should divide his time between 'games and exercises' and 'graue and earnest affairs', as well as choosing 'honest' companions for both. However, James I did not seem to follow his own

²⁸⁸ Marcham, pp.316-317.

²⁸⁹ Stewart, p.107.

²⁹⁰ Marcham, p.319.

²⁹¹ 'Giovannia Carlo Scaramelli to the Doge and Senate of Venice, September 4, 1603, Sunbury', in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. by Horatio F. Brown, 38 vols: 10 (London: HMSO, 1990), p.90.

²⁹² James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), sig.V3^v-V4^r.

advice and Shakespeare arguably presents the King's counsel back to him in *Lear*; we may note, for example, the verbal echoes in *Basilikon Doron* of Lear's warning for the Fool to 'take heede' of the whip. Stewart asserts that during the early years of James I's reign, his 'new favourites were those who distinguished themselves at the hunt, not at the court or in government.'²⁹³ In relation to this, there were also complaints that those who made up James's 'hunting crew' were 'a few persons only, and those always the same, people of low degree.'²⁹⁴ James did not surround himself with knowledgeable counsellors who could help him rule but rather companions who could assist him in the pursuit of quarry. Criticism of the time James spent hunting was therefore not solely concerned with the neglect of his duties as king but also the failure to surround himself with worthy courtiers and experienced counsellors.

Criticism of James I's preoccupation with hunting makes references to the sport during the time of his reign unquestionably politicised. For example, a play, which the *Lost Plays Database* refers to as *A Huntsman in Green Apparel*, directly referred to the king's love of hunting and criticised the attention he paid to his hunting hounds.²⁹⁵ Information about the play's content can be gleaned from a deposition, dated to February 1616/1617, in which Thomas Napleton of Faversham is said to have seen a play 'wherin ther was one played the parte of an huntesman in greene apparell, which person was thought to present the kinges person, to whome another actor sayd that he had rather heare a dogg barke then a Cannon rore meaning that person that represented the king'.²⁹⁶ In response to the play's representation of the King, Napleton is said to have stated, 'It is pittie that ever this king came to the Crowne of England, for he hath more regard of his dogges then he hath of his subiectes or common wealth.'²⁹⁷ As the deposition states that Napleton made the comment 'five or six yeres since', this suggests that the play was

²⁹³ Stewart, p.107.

²⁹⁴ 'Giovannia Carlo Scaramelli', p.90.

²⁹⁵ 'Huntsman in Green Apparel, A', *Lost Plays Database* <https://www.lostplays.org/index.php?title=Huntsman_in_Green_Apparel,_A> [accessed 27 September 2017].

²⁹⁶ Quoted in James M. Gibson, *Records of Early English Drama: Kent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p.569.

²⁹⁷ Gibson, p.569.

most likely performed at least once in 1611.²⁹⁸ However, it was probably subjected to censorship due to its caricature of James I and implied criticism of his neglect of governance and dislike of war.²⁹⁹ Another lost play, which is referred to as *The Silver Mine*, was performed by the Children of the Blackfriars in February or March 1608 and seriously offended James I.³⁰⁰ According to the French Ambassador, Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie, it not only ‘slandered their King, his mine in Scotland, and all his Favourites in a most pointed fashion’, but also targeted James I’s preoccupation with hunting and hawking as it ‘made him rail against heaven over the flight of a bird and have a gentleman beaten for calling off his dogs’.³⁰¹ Although it is impossible to know what aspect of the play most angered James, there were severe consequences. In comparison to the response provoked by Nashe and Jonson’s *The Isle of Dogs*, Lucy Munro notes that ‘the king’s rage was turned mainly on the actors’ and those involved in its production.³⁰² Indeed, La Boderie states that James was ‘greatly annoyed with the scoundrels and commanded that they be punished and especially that a diligent search be made for the author.’ Shakespeare would undoubtedly have been aware that should his works offend James I he could lose his royal patronage and livelihood. Nevertheless, he uses both hunting and canine imagery in *Lear* in an attempt to counsel James I.

The allusions to hunting in *Lear* are therefore part of a wider theatrical culture that criticised James I’s methods of governance through his favoured pastime. In his first appearance on stage, Lear declares that he intends to, ‘divest us both of rule, / Interest of territory, cares of state’, but claims that he will ‘retain / The name, and all th’addition to a king; the sway, / Revenue,

²⁹⁸ Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 9 vols: 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.142.

²⁹⁹ P. J. Finkelpearl argues that the play is an example of the libel laws being violated during the Jacobean period: P. J. Finkelpearl, ‘The Comedians’ Liberty: Censorship of the Jacobean Stage Reconsidered’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 16 (1986), 123-138 (p.127).

³⁰⁰ Wiggins and Richardson, p.491

³⁰¹ ‘Letter from the French ambassador, Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie to Pierre Brulart de Puisieux, Marquis de Sillery, 8 April 1608’, in George Chapman, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*, ed. by John Margeson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp.267-277. For the original French letter, see J. J. Jusserand, ‘Ambassador La Boderie and the “Compositeur” of the Byron Plays’, *Modern Language Review*, 6 (1911), 203-205.

³⁰² Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen’s Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.30.

execution of the rest' (I.i.49-50, 136-138). Lear wants all the advantages of kingship but none of the responsibilities, and one of the prime benefits he retains is the right to go 'hunting' (I.iii.8). Notably, *Lear* was performed before King James I at Whitehall on December 1606, and as Gary Taylor argues, the play makes 'less flattering comparisons between them'.³⁰³ In Act One, Scene Four, Lear returns from the hunt, with the stage directions signifying, '*Horns within*' (I.iv.11.sd). While there is not any indication that dogs are brought on stage here, reproductions have included them for incidental effect.³⁰⁴ However, the omission of dogs in *Lear* highlights the similarities between the King's followers and hunting hounds. Neill notes that Barrie Kosky's 1998 production of *Lear* for Australia's Bell Shakespeare Company drew on this idea by costuming the king's attendants as dog-headed creatures.³⁰⁵ The members of Lear's retinue are perhaps most accurately described as purebred hounds, which is made clear when he claims that those in his,

train are men of choice and rarest parts
That all particulars of duty know,
And in the most exact regard support
The worships of their name (I.iv.255-258).

According to Lear, these are pedigree knights, who follow him out of loyalty and serve him well. The knights' obedience indicates the control Lear maintains over his retinue and his continued 'sway' as sovereign. Indeed, by maintaining his retinue, Lear is able to 'manage those authorities / That he hath given away' (I.iii.18-19).

Lear's favourable representation of his knights is undermined by Goneril's assertion that Lear's 'insolent retinue / Do hourly carp and quarrel, breaking forth / In rank and not-to-be endured riots' (I.iv.192-194). This description suggests that the knights are behaving in a wild and

³⁰³ Gary Taylor, 'Monopolies, Show Trials, Disaster and Invasion: *King Lear* and Censorship', in *The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare's Two Versions of 'King Lear'*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp.75-117.

³⁰⁴ In Michael Elliot's 1983 production of *King Lear*, Laurence Olivier entered on horseback in this scene accompanied by hunting hounds: *King Lear*, dir. Michael Elliot (Granada Television, 1983).

³⁰⁵ Neill, "'The little dogs and all'", p.56, n.32.

unrestrained manner, which supports the implied representation of them as a pack of hounds.³⁰⁶ Goneril appears concerned that Lear is ‘abused’ by the knights (I.iii.21). While their concern may not be genuine, it does suggest that the knights that follow Lear only want to take advantage of his position of power and do not serve him out of a sense of duty. In the opening scenes of the play, Shakespeare therefore presents Lear as being preoccupied with hunting and surrounded by individuals with questionable loyalties. While Regan and Goneril’s complaints about the knight’s behaviour may be justified, their principle motivation for reducing Lear’s followers is the threat his followers poses to their own newly acquired powers. Goneril states that it is not ‘politic and safe to let him keep’ his followers, as she recognises that these war-ready knights are like Lear’s guard dogs and will defend his authority (I.iv.316). As Lear himself asserts later in the play, having lost his retinue and therefore the means of enforcing his sovereignty, ‘a dog’s obeyed in office’ (IV.vi.154-155). Lear’s riotous band of hound-like followers simultaneously undermine and enforce his authority.

Regan and Goneril’s concern that Lear is surrounded by disingenuous followers is, of course, ironically insincere. The Fool makes their hypocrisy clear when he informs Lear, ‘Truth’s a dog that must to kennel; he must be whipped out, when the Lady Brach may stand by the fire and stink’ (I.iv.109-111). Ralph M. Tutt argues that as Goneril’s steward is compared to a mongrel and cur elsewhere in the play, ‘the association is easily made between “brach” and Oswald.’³⁰⁷ Tutt also suggests that ‘one tends naturally to equate Lear, barred as he is from the castle, with “truth,” the dog whipped out to kennel.’³⁰⁸ Although Lear is reduced to a dog-like state later in the play, the dog ‘Truth’ refers to Cordelia and Kent, who are exiled for their honesty, while ‘Lady Brach’ refers to Lear’s ‘dog-hearted daughters’, Regan and Goneril, who flattered Lear

³⁰⁶ ‘riot, v.’ *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, June 2017) <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/166170>> [accessed 9 October 2017].

³⁰⁷ Ralph M. Tutt, ‘Dog Imagery in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *King Lear*, and *Timon of Athens*’, *The Serif*, 1 (1964), 15-22 (p.18).

³⁰⁸ Tutt, p.18.

during the love test, in order to gain a portion of his kingdom, thus benefitting from their dishonesty (IV.iii.46).

While the term 'brach' is usually taken to mean 'bitch', and thus to refer to a dog's gender, it is also specifically applied to describe bloodhounds.³⁰⁹ These hunting hounds were used to track wounded animals because, as Caius states, they 'with no lesse facilitie and easinesse, then auiditie and greedinesse can disclose and bewray the same by smelling, applying to their pursute, agilitie and nimblenesse'.³¹⁰ Moreover, when describing '*Canes Venatici*, hunting dogges' more generally, Caius states that many types of these dogs excel in 'subtiltie and deceitfulness'.³¹¹ It is therefore appropriate that Regan and Goneril are characterised as bloodhounds, as this indicates their greed and propensity for deception. According to Plato's figuration of pedigree hounds as the ideal guardians of the state, Regan and Goneril fulfil the criteria for becoming competent rulers. However, as Erasmus warns in *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), there is always an inherent risk that such guardians will turn into wolves, and prey on those they are meant to protect.³¹² In line with this warning, when Lear is cast out by his daughters, during the height of the storm he questions their 'filial ingratitude' and asks 'Is it not as this mouth should tear this hand / For lifting food to't? (III.iv.14, 15-16). Lear here invokes the saying 'don't bite the hand that feeds you', to depict Regan and Goneril's betrayal, with imagery of them 'tear[ing]' his flesh emphasising his daughters' violent canine natures. However, it is in Lear who fails to protect his subjects by ignoring the counsel of his loyal servants and abdicating his throne in favour of leisurely pursuits.

In contrast to Regan and Goneril, Kent represents the model counsellor because he seeks to provide Lear with honest advice, even at the risk of losing his position of influence. After Lear

³⁰⁹ Marjorie Garber, 'Shakespeare's Dogs', in *Profiling Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.182-194 (p.190); see, for example Caius, *Dogges*, sig.B4^r

³¹⁰ Caius, sig.B3^r.

³¹¹ Caius, sig.B2^r.

³¹² Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p.31.

exiles Cordelia and divides his kingdom between Regan and Goneril, Kent asks Lear, ‘Think’st thou that duty shall have dread to speak, / When power to flattery bows? To plainness honour’s bound / When majesty stoops to folly’ (I.i.148-150). Kent reverses the traditional image of the flatterer being the subservient individual, as he suggests that it is the individual who is flattered who ‘bows’ and ‘stoops’ in a dog-like manner. He suggests that it in such circumstances, it is the duty of the loyal servant to speak plainly to their master and show them the error of their ways. While Kent is not overtly described as a dog, after he is exiled for his honesty, in order to re-enter Lear’s service, he disguises himself as a rustic named Caius, the name of the author who wrote *Of Englishe Dogges*. As Marjorie Garber argues, the name Caius ‘functions as a kind of metonymy for “dog”’.³¹³ Although it must be acknowledged that Kent is only identified as Caius once and at a very late stage in the play, the repetition of canine imagery throughout *Lear* suggests that Shakespeare drew upon *Of Englishe Dogges* for inspiration (V.iii.281). Jane Pettegree has argued at length that Shakespeare had Caius’s *Of Englishe Dogges* in mind when writing *Lear*.³¹⁴ Pettegree’s argument raises some intriguing similarities between *Of Englishe Dogges* and *King Lear*, most notably that, ‘[w]hat Shakespeare realises, and by calling Kent after the author of *English Dogges* exploits, is that the dog is [...] a truly ambiguous emblem.’³¹⁵ Shakespeare arguably uses the ambiguity surrounding dogs to explore the ambivalence he felt towards his new role as a playwright to a king and the attendant dangers of counselling a monarch who may not be open to criticism.

A. C. Bradley argues that in *Lear* Shakespeare only finds the negative aspects of animals in man, and suggests that it is ‘remarkable, and somewhat sad, that he seems to find none of man’s better qualities in the world of the brutes (though he might well have found the prototype of the selfless love of Kent and Cordelia in the dog whom he so habitually maligns)’.³¹⁶ Shakespeare’s

³¹³ Garber, p.190.

³¹⁴ Jane Pettegree, *Foreign and Native on the English Stage, 1588-1611: Metaphor and National Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.98-118.

³¹⁵ Pettegree, p.112.

³¹⁶ Bradley, pp.267, 268.

use of canine imagery in *Lear* is not so straightforwardly negative; contrary to Bradley's interpretation, Shakespeare does draw on the dog's selfless love to represent Kent's unwavering duty to Lear and Cordelia's well-intentioned honesty. Their loyalty, however, is questioned in the play by the Fool, who highlights the injustice of false flatterers being rewarded over honest counsellors. This criticism suggests that monarchs require servants who are unafraid to speak the truth to point out their shortcomings. The Fool's humorous and riddling manner suggests that they must deliver such truths in a tempered fashion so as to ensure that their master pays attention to their counsel, just as playwrights presented serious political content through the entertaining medium of the theatre to instruct their audiences. It is ultimately, however, the responsibility of the monarch to listen to good counsel over misguided advice, which Lear fails to do. In allowing himself to be deceived by false flatterers, Lear loses his authority and is reduced to a dog-like state at the end of play — which is conveyed through his distressed 'howl[ing]' over Cordelia's dead body (V.iii.255). In *Lear*, Shakespeare employs the canine trope to interrogate the forms of service monarchs accept and reward, which reveals a significant degree of ambivalence about his own role as a counsellor to the ruling elite.

4.6 Conclusions

As this chapter has shown, dogs were frequently used to reflect on the concerns of service and counsel in early modern drama. Dogs were not only used to represent courtiers as fawning sycophants but also to reflect on the political role of the playwright in providing didactic content to their audiences, be they members of the ruling elite or regular playgoers, while at the same time entertaining them to maintain employment. The cultural ambivalence surrounding dogs in the early modern period made them uniquely suited to exploring the playwright's desire to attack and expose societal vices, as well as their need to flatter and amuse audiences.

This chapter has used Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson's lost play *The Isle of Dogs* as a case study to demonstrate the potentially subversive use of the canine trope to criticise the ruling elite in early modern drama. It has referred to Nashe's previous works to demonstrate that, in

addition to criticising the Elizabethan court, *The Isle of Dogs* is likely to have praised the satirical role of early modern authors and encouraged players to deliver their criticisms in a palatable manner for the best effect, thus combining the dog's fawning with its vicious barking. Jonson appears to have sustained the satirical intent of *The Isle of Dogs* by commenting on its suppression in *Every Man Out of His Humour*. In this play, Jonson employs the canine trope in a highly ambivalent manner to convey the paradoxes and limitations of playwriting. Through its satirical figures being repeatedly characterised as dogs and Puntarvolo's greyhound being poisoned on stage, *Every Man Out* reflects on the impact that patronage and censorship has on the freedom of players to expose societal vices and criticise the ruling elite.

Comparably, Launce's dog Crab in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* represents the idealized state of players who do not need to fawn upon their masters as he refuses to show Launce affection despite being literally tethered to him. However, Crab's failure to conform to social expectations while at court, and the subsequent punishments he is threatened with, demonstrate the dangers faced by players who offended the ruling elite; both Crab and Launce are reduced to 'masterless men', a state comparable to the stray dogs that were frequently persecuted in early modern England.

Written under the patronage of King James I, Shakespeare employed the canine trope in *King Lear* to reflect on both his duty to offer honest counsel to his sovereign and the very real dangers he faced if his plays insulted his royal patron. Through the astute application of dog imagery in *Lear*, Shakespeare covertly dramatises his critique of the political structures of early modern England, thereby using non-human beings, as he does in all the plays discussed in this thesis, to destabilise notions of human sovereignty.

V

‘Your worm is your only emperor’: Death, the Beast and the Sovereign

This thesis has explored the curious pairing of the beast and the sovereign in early modern drama. By focusing on the three creatures that were most highly valued by the ruling elite — the horse, the hawk and the hound — it has demonstrated that Shakespeare repeatedly returned to this relationship throughout his works to explore various distinct aspects of power and governance. It has suggested that Shakespeare used the equine trope to challenge the performance of sovereignty and the methods of enforcing it; the falconry trope to explore the role of coercion and deception in the maintenance of political power; and the canine trope to emphasise the importance of rulers accepting good counsel over flattery. Moreover, it has shown how Shakespeare used these animals to reflect on his role as a playwright and player within the political structures of early modern England.

Through the equine trope, Shakespeare highlights the performative nature of sovereignty through players representing monarchs on the stage and having them metatheatrically reflect on the superficiality of their power and superiority. In so doing, Shakespeare suggests that there is more to ruling than public displays of majesty, the majority of which involve monarchs riding amongst their subjects on horseback during stately processions and progresses. Shakespeare draws on the emblematic associations of horsemanship with good governance to challenge the tyrannical connotations of forced subjugation that such images invoke, and instead proposes harmonious and mutually beneficial relations between sovereign and subject.

Shakespeare furthers his reflection on the nature of control and obedience through the associations of falconry with coercion and deception. In *2 and 3 Henry VI* and *Macbeth*, Shakespeare represents the necessity of political collusion in the maintenance of power but simultaneously conveys the futility of such treachery, particularly when it is motivated by

ambition, through the chaos and destruction it causes. In 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and *Macbeth*, figures of sovereignty lose their power and are killed, despite their best attempts to control those under their governance. The frequent slippage between these characters as both falconer and falcon represents the imbalanced nature of power relations between sovereign and subject. Shakespeare thus destabilises the notion that falconry teaches the ruling elite how to command the loyalty and obedience of their subjects.

The uncertain nature of the falcon's obedience evidently appealed to Shakespeare, as is demonstrated by the inclusion of this regal creature in his coat of arms. Indeed, the playwright draws connections between raptors and actors in *The Taming of the Shrew*, by combining falconry imagery with a play-within-a-play to reflect on the political role of professional players. While player-hawks may have to feign obedience in order to avoid punishment, they maintain their independence and semi-wild natures by covertly attacking the vices of the ruling elite through their works.

Although Shakespeare may have wanted to affiliate himself with the noble falcon, he was also forced to acknowledge his connections to the more maligned dog, hence the largely ambivalent representation of canines throughout his plays. Despite the common belief that Shakespeare disliked dogs, this thesis has suggested that the playwright in fact identified with these persecuted creatures. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* he therefore incorporates an actual dog and uses the canine trope to express his resentment at having to flatter his audience members, both commoners and nobles alike, to maintain employment, while also acknowledging his reliance on the flattery of those whom attended the theatre and read his work.

Shakespeare seems to have played the role of loyal dog well for, as far as we know, he was never imprisoned or called to account for his writing, unlike Thomas Nashe and Ben Jonson. As an arguably self-identified 'bending author', he appears to have abided by the constraints of patronage and censorship, and thus performed a dog-like subservience to those in power (*Henry*

V Epilogue 2). Although Shakespeare was perhaps more akin to the sycophantic spaniel than to the biting ban-dog, which satirical authors such as Jonson emulated, his plays and poems do include didactic content. Accordingly, Shakespeare uses the canine trope in *King Lear* to reflect on the instructive — and therefore highly political — nature of his role as playwright and servant to King James I, in which he emphasises the necessity of tempering severe criticism through entertainment and amusing content. Throughout his works more generally, rather than railing at his audiences, Shakespeare uses the engaging medium of theatre to critique vices and offer counsel, often concealing his more daring criticisms of those in power through carefully employed animal imagery.

This thesis has also shown that Shakespeare was not alone in drawing connections between the beast and the sovereign to interrogate and challenge the power structures of the early modern period. Through substantial analysis of Christopher Marlowe's *2 Tamburlaine*, the anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock* and a case study of Jonson and Nashe's lost play, *The Isle of Dogs*, it has demonstrated that although Shakespeare's works are teeming with creatures, the works of other playwrights deserve greater attention in order to present a more accurate picture of early modern human-animal relations. This thesis has prioritised Shakespeare as a reflection of his status as the most canonical writer of the period, but it has also worked to reveal that he was engaging in a wider culture of representation whereby animals were used, both figuratively and literally, to symbolise the power and status of rulers. By proposing that Shakespeare, along with other early modern writers and artists, exploited the reliance of rulers on animals to interrogate their authority, it has provided the foundation for further studies into the complex relationship between the beast and the sovereign.

Although this study has concentrated on the animals that exist at the top of the creaturely hierarchy, it will end with those that reside at the bottom to demonstrate that the pairing of the beast and the sovereign is a question of metaphorical existential inquiry that Shakespeare continued to mine throughout his writing career and especially in his momentous works, *King*

Lear and *Hamlet*. When King Lear encounters Edgar in his disguise as Tom O'Bedlam, he contemplates the nature of humanity:

Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou ow'st the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume. Ha? Here's three on's us are sophisticated; thou art the thing itself. Unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. (III.iv.101-106)

Manfred Pfister reads this passage as 'one sustained attempt at testing man's distinctive and distinguished position at the top end of the scale of God's material creation.'¹ Rather than confirming their superiority, these lines capture, as Laurie Shannon has argued at length, the very essence of 'human negative exceptionalism'.² The passage's significance, however, inheres not only in its content but also in the fact that it is a king who speaks these lines. Unlike ordinary people, who relied on animal skins to cover their vulnerable bodies and protect themselves from harsh conditions (thus showing their human weakness owing to their lack of fur), sovereigns adorned themselves with luxury materials and objects made from animals to 'demarcate [their] social status'.³ To provide such items the bodies of animals were reduced to, what Erica Fudge terms, 'animal-made-objects'⁴. By visibly conveying the wealth and status of the ruling elite, these animal-made items not only separate 'beasts from humans', but further distinguish sovereigns from their subjects.⁵ Through the animal imagery used in *Lear* to contemplate the commonality of a king with his subjects, Shakespeare undermines both the pre-eminence of monarchs over common people and the sovereignty of humans over all other beings.

¹ Manfred Pfister, "'Man's Distinctive Mark": Paradoxical Distinctions Between Man and his Bestial Other in Early Modern Texts', in *Telling Stories: Studies in Honour of Ulrich Broich on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1992), pp.17-33 (p.19).

² Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (London: Chicago University Press, 2013), pp.127-173.

³ Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), pp.1-25 (p.1).

⁴ Erica Fudge, 'Renaissance Animal Things', *New Formations*, 76 (2012), 86-100.

⁵ Richardson, p.24.

The social demarcation indicated by clothing was particularly obvious in the case of luxury furs, which were restricted to the ruling elite through sumptuary laws and primarily valued for their aesthetic appeal, rather than for the warmth and protection they provided their human wearers.⁶ Members of the ruling elite used furs to display their pre-eminence by turning them into ornaments of high fashion. Furs thus exemplify human dominion over nature as to create them animals are hunted, captured, killed, and displayed as emblems of human prowess. However, as Fudge argues, the inherent paradox of humans wearing animal skins is that they mark 'humans as all-powerful (animals will be killed for them) and simultaneously as all-frail (they *need* animals to be killed for them)'.⁷ Lear critiques the intention of such bodily adornment when he states, 'Robes and furred gowns hide all' (IV.vi.161). With its pun on the 'hide' of an animal and the act of concealment, this line not only refers to the vices of rulers, which are veiled by the material accoutrements of sovereignty, but also to the physical infirmities that rulers share with their subjects. As a king, Lear should be able to withstand more than the ordinary man but, stripped of his political power and status, his human weaknesses are revealed. Lear admits to these vulnerabilities when he declares, 'they told me I was everything; 'tis a lie, I am not ague-proof' (IV.vi.103-104). Exposed to the elements during the storm, Lear is forced to acknowledge the limitations of his natural body and, by extension, accept his mortality. At the end of the play, as we have seen, Lear is left 'howl[ing]' like a dog over the body of his dead daughter, before he himself dies (V.iii.255).

Lear's transformation into a beast is an expression of one of the play's central concerns: that God, and not earthly sovereigns, holds the ultimate power over life and death. Derrida argues that as 'God is beyond the sovereign but as the sovereign's sovereign', he 'looks like the beast, and even like the death he carries with him'.⁸ According to Derrida's figuration, through the

⁶ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.101-106.

⁷ Fudge, 'Renaissance Animal Things', p.92.

⁸ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign: Volume I*, trans. by Geoffrey Bennington, ed. by Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp.49-50, 57.

complete power that God is perceived to wield over all humans — sovereign and subject alike — he becomes the ultimate beastly tyrant. As Gloucester observes, ‘As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods, / They kill us for their sport’ (IV.i.38-39). In his thirteenth-century encyclopaedia *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (which was translated into English and reprinted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), Bartholomew the Englishman observed that, ‘flies and lice’ were created ‘for man should know his owne infirmitie, and the might of God’.⁹ Likewise, Gloucester, as a noble, recognises that despite their positions of power the ruling elite are as unimportant as flies and just as easily dispatched. Shakespeare therefore turns to the creatures that reside at the bottom of the Great Chain of Being to expose the insignificance of such hierarchies.

Derrida states that to die is ‘the common condition of both beast and sovereign’; death, therefore, has the power ‘to reduce *who* to *what*, or to reveal the “what” of “who”’.¹⁰ As John Rowland observes in the preface to Edward Topsell’s *Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts, Serpents and Insects* (1658), ‘[e]ven as one thing befalls them both, as the other one dyeth, so dyeth the other; so that man have no preeminence above the Beasts. All go unto one place, all are dust, and all return to dust again’.¹¹ Citing Genesis 3.19, Rowland reflects on the perceived sovereignty of humans over all other beings and argues that this is inconsequential as all meet the same fate, regardless of their status in the natural order.¹² This Christian precept is echoed by Hamlet when, like Lear, he considers humanity:

What piece of work is a man, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god: the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals — and yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? (II.ii.305-310)

⁹ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Batman vppon Bartholome his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), sig.Mmm2^r.

¹⁰ Derrida, *Beast*, p.137.

¹¹ Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts, Serpents and Insects* (London, 1658), sig.A4^r.

¹² Susan Wiseman notes that Corinthians 15.39 — ‘All flesh is not the same flesh, but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of bestes, and another of fishes, and another of birdes’ — attempts to definitively separate humans from all other creatures, ‘to make the human not only the noblest among God’s creation and so the one chosen to be endowed with reason and soul which allowed promise of hereafter, but also to separate the human from the rest of creation in physical makeup’: Susan Wiseman, *Writing Metamorphosis in the English Renaissance: 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.7-8.

Hamlet places humans at the top of the political spectrum only to completely undermine their sovereignty by categorising them as the ‘quintessence of dust.’ While humans may resemble a superior form of life, they are ultimately reduced to miniscule particles of waste matter, like everything else.

The death of a sovereign heightens this perspective of human insignificance as, in the early modern period, divinely appointed rulers were perceived to be impervious to death, at least in part. The demise of a ruler signified the death of the natural body, with the body politic being passed onto their successor.¹³ Inherent in this transition, however, is an acknowledgment of the sovereign’s mortality and, therefore, their commonality with all other beings. Shakespeare regularly dramatises ‘the death of kings’ in his plays to demonstrate, as Richard II declares, that ‘within the hollow crown / That rounds the mortal temples of a king / Keeps Death his court’ (*Richard II* III.ii.156, 160-162). Hamlet further degrades the perceived sanctity of the sovereign’s body when, having killed Polonius, he engages in the following exchange with King Claudius:

HAMLET	A certain convocation of politic worms are e’en at him. Your worm is your only emperor for diet: we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots. Your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service — two dishes, but to one table. That’s the end.
KING	Alas, alas.
HAMLET	A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.
KING	What dost you mean by this?
HAMLET	Nothing but to show you how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar. (IV.iii.19-31) ¹⁴

¹³ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp.11-13.

¹⁴ For further discussion of this exchange, see Ian MacInnes, ‘The Politic Worm: Invertebrate Life in the Early Modern English Body’, in *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Jean E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.253-273.

In this exchange, Shakespeare subverts the stately image that is invoked by the description of a king on ‘progress’ — which conjures the familiar motif of a ruler mounted on the back of a great horse, travelling through their lands to display their majesty — to instead represent the remnants of the royal body moving through the digestive tract of the lowliest subject. Through the imagery of a sovereign’s corpse being consumed by maggots and, subsequently, by beggars, Hamlet diminishes the mighty sovereign to the ‘what’; the animal that is to be consumed. In the end, death becomes the great equaliser and the ‘worm’ emerges as the only sovereign of consequence.

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